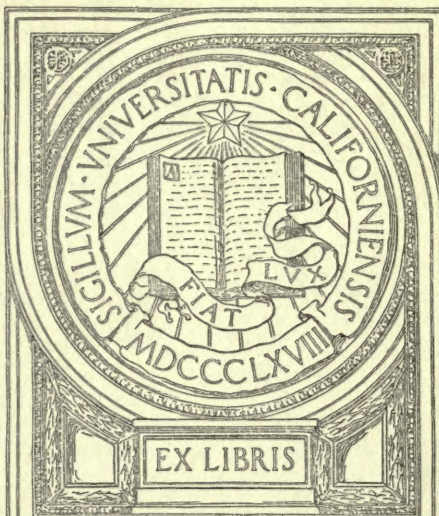


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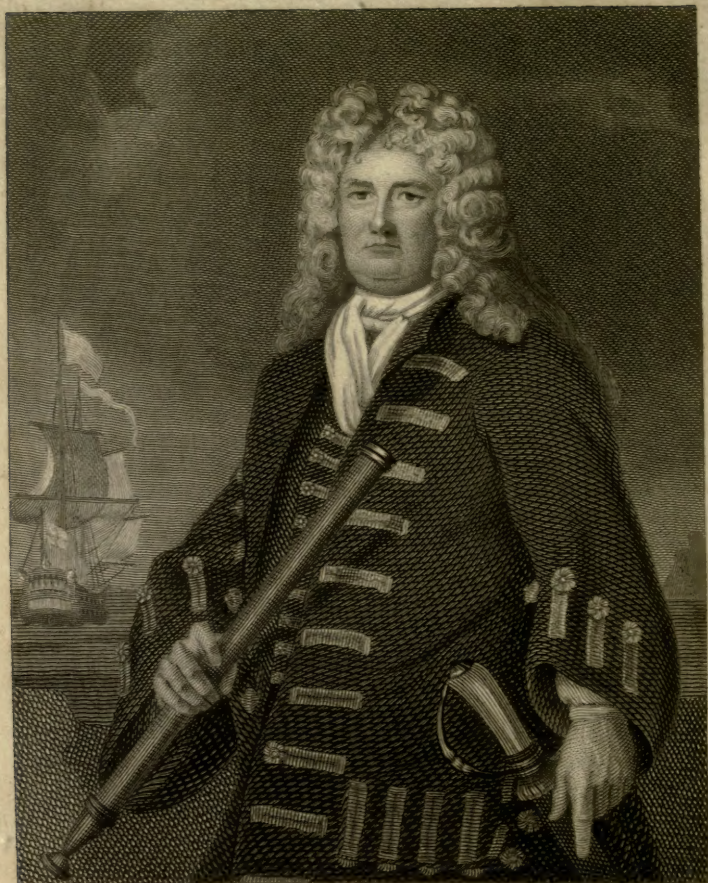
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SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL,

Rear Admiral of England.

*Engraved by J. T. Wedgwood from the Original
in the Hampton Court Collection.*

LIVES
OF THE
BRITISH ADMIRALS:

CONTAINING ALSO
A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY,
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIODS.

BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

CONTINUED TO THE YEAR 1779,
BY
DR. BERKENHOUT.

A NEW EDITION,
REVISED, CORRECTED,
AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME,
BY
HENRY REDHEAD YORKE, Esq.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
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1812.

LIVES

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TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY JOHN GARRARD

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS

TO THE PRESENT TIME

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VOLUME II

FROM THE

W. SMITH AND CO.

Printers,

KING STREET, SEVEN DIALS.

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OF

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LIVES
OF
THE ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING
A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHARLES HOWARD, BARON OF EFFINGHAM, AFTERWARDS EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, KNIGHT OF THE GARTER, AND LORD-HIGH-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

WE have already seen two brothers of this illustrious family of Howard successively lord-high-admirals, and we are now to speak of another Howard, who arrived by merit at the same high honour, and, which is more, was also the son of a lord-high-admiral of England.* He was born in the year 1536, in the latter end of the reign of King Henry VIII. his father having the title only of Lord William Howard.† His mother's name was Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, of Glamorganshire. Lord William being raised to the title of baron of Effing-

* See in a former chapter, the Lives of Sir Edward, and Sir Thomas Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, and uncle to this noble lord.

† Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. M.S.

ham, and admiral, his son served under him in several expeditions till the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when he was about twenty-two years of age. * His father coming into great favour with that princess, he enjoyed a share of it, and in 1559 was sent over into France to compliment King Charles IX. who had just ascended that throne. † Nine years afterwards he was general of horse in the expedition made by the earl of Warwick against the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who had taken arms in the north, and in crushing whose rebellion he was very active. ‡

In the following year he commanded a squadron of men of war, which, as we before observed, the queen was pleased should escort Anne of Austria, daughter of the emperor Maximilian, to the coast of Spain. § Upon this occasion, the Spanish fleet were obliged to take in their flags while they continued in the British seas, having been sufficiently instructed in that ceremonial in their passage to Flanders by Sir John Hawkins, as the reader will find at large related in our memoirs of that gallant seaman. In 1571, he was chosen to Parliament as knight of the shire for the county of Surrey, and very soon after succeeded his father in his title and estate, who died January 12, 1572, in the great office of lord-privy-seal, and very highly in the queen's favour. || The queen distinguished the son, as she had done the father, by raising him to the highest offices in the kingdom, not hastily, but, as her manner was, by a due progression. He became first-chamberlain of the household, an office which his father had enjoyed, and on the 24th of April, 1573, he was elected knight of the

* Dugdale's Baronage, tom. ii. p. 278. † Camden. Annal. p. 54.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 583. Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 1212.

§ Camden, p. 220, 221. See the epistle dedicatory, addressed to this noble person, by Mr. Hakluyt, of the first volume of his excellent Collection of Voyages.

|| Stowe, p. 674. Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 1212. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 88, 95.

garter.* Some of the writers of those times say, that he was raised to check Leicester's greatness; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the most opposite people in the world in their tempers; † for, whereas Leicester was a deep dissembler, excessively ambitious, and one who sought to govern all things, the lord-chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, public spirited man, in the good graces of the queen, from his known affection to her person, and exceedingly popular, as well on account of his hospitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the sake of his most noble, most loyal, and heroic family. When, therefore, the earl of Lincoln died in 1585, the queen immediately determined to raise the Lord Effingham to the post of high-admiral, which she did with the general approbation of her subjects, and much to the satisfaction of the seamen, by whom he was excessively beloved. ‡

When the Spaniards had spent three years in preparing their armada, the queen willingly entrusted the care of herself and the nation to this noble lord, of whose conduct and whose fortune she had equal hopes. We have already seen how happily that important contest ended for the honour of this nation; here, therefore, we are to speak only of what was personally performed by the admiral. As soon as he knew that the Spanish fleet was ready to sail, he put to sea, and continued cruizing for some time, till the court having received advice, that the Spaniards would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateness of the season rendering this probable, Secretary Walsingham wrote to him, directing, that four of the largest ships should be sent into port, and the seamen discharged, to save expense. The admiral wrote back to

* Dugdale's Baronage, tom. ii. p. 279. Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter, p. 715.

† Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 736.

‡ Stowe, p. 700, 709. Camden, p. 451.

excuse his not obeying this direction ; and, in the close of the letter, desired, that, if his reasons were thought insufficient, the ships might remain at his expense. *

When he received intelligence from Captain Fleming of the approach of the Spanish fleet, and saw of what mighty consequence it was to get out what few ships were ready in the port of Plymouth; he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himself, but wrought also with his own hands ; and, with six ships only, got the first night out of Plymouth, and the next morning, having no more than thirty sail, and those the smallest of the fleet, attacked the Spanish navy. † He shewed his conduct and prudence, by dispatching his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Hobby, to the queen, to inform her of the great disproportion between the enemy's force and his own ; to desire her to make the proper disposition of her land forces for the security of the coasts, and to hasten as many ships as possible to his assistance. ‡ His valour he discovered in the repeated attacks he made on a superior enemy ; and the excellency of his cool temper appeared in his passing a whole night in the midst of the Spanish fleet, and retiring, as soon as he had light enough to discover his own, without loss. §

It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence that the victory was so great ; and, such as have suggested that it might have been still greater, readily acknowledge, that this did not happen through any fault of the admiral, who always discovered the utmost alacrity in his country's service. || The queen acknowledged his merit in the most expressive and glorious terms, and, though extremely

* Stowe, p. 745, 746. Speed, p. 860. Camden, vol. ii. p. 571.

† See the account of this victory, printed in the first volume of Hakluyt's Collection. Fuller's Worthies in Surrey, p. 84.

‡ Stowe's Annals, p. 747.

§ Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 597.

|| See the reflections made by Sir William Monson on this most important action in his Naval Tracts.

frugal, rewarded him with a pension for life ; * and, at his request, granted a pardon and a pension to Captain Fleming, the pirate, who first brought the news of the Spanish fleet being on our coast, which I mention, to show how careful this great man was, a thing uncommon even among the greatest men, that the merits of meaner persons should not pass unrewarded, or be superciliously overlooked. †

Sir Richard Hawkins, in his observations, has a very remarkable passage in relation to this noble person, which the reader will, no doubt, be very well pleased to see in his own words : “ Worthy of perpetual memory,” say he, “ was the prudent policy and government of our English “ navy, *anno* 1588, by the worthy earl of Nottingham, “ lord-high-admiral of England, who, in the like case, with “ mature and experimented knowledge, patiently withstood “ the instigations of many courageous and noble captains, “ who would have persuaded him to have laid them aboard ; “ but, when he foresaw, that the enemy had an army on “ board, he none ; that they exceeded him in number of “ shipping, and those greater in bulk, stronger built, and “ higher moulded, so that they, who with such advantage “ fought from above, might easily distress all opposition “ below, the slaughter peradventure proving more fatal “ than the victory profitable, by being overthrown he “ might have hazarded the kingdom, whereas by the conquest (at most) he could have boasted of nothing but “ glory and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance he “ always advantaged himself of wind and tide, which was “ the freedom of our country, and security of our navy, “ with the destruction of theirs, which in the eye of the “ ignorant (who judge all things by the external appearance,) seemed invincible, but, truly considered, was “ much inferior to ours in all things of substance, as the “ event proved ; for we sunk, spoiled, and took many of

* Camden, Stowe, Speed.

† Stowe's Annals, p. 795.

“ them ; and they diminished of ours but one small pin-
 “ nace, nor any man of name save only Captain Cooke,
 “ who died with honour amidst his company. The
 “ greatest damage that, as I remember, they caused to
 “ any of our ships, was to the Swallow of her Majesty’s,
 “ which I had in that action under my charge, with an
 “ arrow of fire shot into her beak head, which we saw not
 “ because of the sail, till it had burnt an hole in the Rose,
 “ as big as a man’s head; the arrow falling out, and
 “ driving along by the ship’s side, made us doubt of it,
 “ which after we discovered.”

In 1596, he commanded in chief at sea, as the earl of Essex did at land, the forces sent against Spain, and was at very great expense in providing for that expedition. His prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience and reputation amongst the seamen and soldiers, were the principal causes of the success the English met with in that attempt, and his conduct throughout the whole was so wise and fortunate, that, upon his return home, the queen, on the 22d of October the same year, advanced him to the dignity and title of earl of Nottingham, (being descended from the family of Mowbray, some of whom had been earls of that county,) the reasons whereof are thus inserted in his patent.” *

“ That by the victory obtained *anno* 1588, he had
 “ secured the kingdom of England from the invasion of
 “ Spain, and other impending dangers; and did also, in
 “ conjunction with our dear cousin Robert earl of Essex,
 “ seize by force the isle, and the strongly fortified city of
 “ Cadiz, in the farthest part of Spain; and did likewise
 “ entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the king of
 “ Spain, prepared in that port against this kingdom.” An honourable preamble! but less needful in that reign than in any other, since it was well known, that queen Elizabeth parted not with titles till they were deserved, and

* Pat. 59. Eliz p. 3.

where she knew the public voice would approve her favour, as in this case it loudly did; for the earl of Nottingham on his first going to the house of peers, was received with unusual marks of joy, sufficiently declaring how worthy the best judges esteemed him of his new dignity, to which the queen added also another, making him lord justice itinerant of all the forest south of Trent for life. * The next great service in which the earl of Nottingham was employed, was in 1599, when the state was again in very great danger. On the one side the Spaniards seemed to meditate a new invasion, and some conceived they were on the very point of executing it, having assembled a great fleet at the Groyne, on board which many English fugitives were directed to repair. On the other, the earl of Essex, who was then lord lieutenant of Ireland, acted in a strange manner, treating with the rebels he was sent to reduce, and forming, as it was believed, some designs of employing the troops, with the command of which he was entrusted by the queen, to the disturbance of her government. Her majesty, who always placed her safety in being too quick for her enemies, issued her orders to the city of London, to furnish immediately sixteen ships for the reinforcement of the navy, and six thousand men for her service by land. The like directions being sent into other parts of the kingdom, such a fleet and such an army were drawn together in a fortnight's space, as took away all hopes, indeed all shadow of success from foreign and domestic enemies; and, to shew the confidence she had in the Admiral's fidelity and capacity, she was pleased to repose in him the sole and supreme command both of fleet and army, with the high and very unusual title of **LORD-LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF ALL ENGLAND**, an office scarce known to former, never revived in succeeding times, and which he

* Pat. 39. Eliz. p. 1.

held with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks, being sometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on shore with the forces. * The unfortunate earl of Essex, having taken a sudden resolution to leave his command in Ireland, and return to England, the queen thought fit to punish this dangerous contempt with a short restraint, and afterwards seemed inclined to have received him again into favour. But he, either hurried on by his own rash disposition, or instigated thereto by some desperate persons about him, attempted to raise a force sufficient to have compelled the queen to do what he thought expedient. Upon his failing in this wild and ill-concerted project, he retired with such as were about him to Essex House, in the Strand, where he fortified himself, and confined the chancellor, the chief justice of England, and other privy counsellors, sent by the queen to enquire into the grievances which had driven him to this rebellious violence, as he pretended. This was on the 8th of February, 1600, when the queen saw herself (in the decline of her life, and after she had triumphed over all her foreign foes, in the utmost peril from an assuming favourite, who owed all his credit to her kindness, and who had thus excited a dangerous sedition in her capital,) on the point of being imprisoned or deposed. In this perilous situation she had recourse to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility; giving the command of all to the lord admiral, who, she often said, WAS BORN TO SERVE AND TO SAVE HIS COUNTRY.

He performed on this occasion, as on all others, the utmost the queen could expect; for in a few hours, he reduced the earl of Essex, after a romantic sally into the city, to such distress, that he was content to yield himself a prisoner; and, when he had so done, the lord-high-

* Camden. Annal. p. 794. Stowe's Annals, p. 778. Speed. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindness possible. * The same year the admiral was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of earl marshal of England; † and to him, upon her death-bed, the queen was pleased to declare her royal intention, as to the succession, in favour of the KING OF SCOTS. ‡

Upon the accession of King James, he not only retained his great office, and was honored with a large share of that prince's confidence, but was likewise the person of whom he made a choice to officiate as lord high steward at the ceremony of the coronation. § Soon after this he was named ambassador to the court of Spain, for the conclusion of a strict intercourse of friendship with that crown, in pursuance of the treaty made at London the 18th of August, 1604, wherein also his lordship had been an acting commissioner. It was very requisite, that much state should be kept up in this embassy, and therefore the earl of Nottingham was appointed with general approbation, not as a man of very great fortune, but from the known generosity of his temper, and the number of his dependants, who at their own charge were content to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he set out for Spain with a retinue wherein were six peers and fifty knights; and for the support of this great train he had an appointment of fifteen thousand pounds, which fell, however, very far short of his expenses. During the time that he resided at the court of King Philip III. he was treated with the utmost deference and respect, maintained, with the universal applause, and to the admiration of the Spaniards, his dignity, and did the highest honour to

* Stowe, Speed, Camden. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

† Pat. 44. Eliz. p. 14. in dorso.

‡ Camden, vol. iii. p. 912. Dr. Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 507, 508.

§ Pat. 1. Jac. 1. p. 18.

the nation. At his departure the king of Spain made him presents, which amounted to twenty thousand pounds. *

On his return he was not so well received at court as he had reason to expect, which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or the mutable temper of the king himself, being injured, and his master abused, by false reports, that the admiral, while in Spain, had assumed more state, and acted with less precaution, than became him. † However he quickly recovered his master's good graces, attended on the Lady Elizabeth when she was married to the elector Palatine, and afterwards escorted her with the royal Navy to Flushing. ‡ This was the last service he did his country in that capacity; for, being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient that he should resign his office to the new favourite Villiers, at that time earl, and afterwards duke of Buckingham.

Some of the memoir writers of those days treat this matter in a way exceedingly injurious to the king's memory, disgraceful to the duke of Buckingham, and not much for the reputation of the earl of Nottingham. The sum of their accounts amount to this: the good old earl after so many and so great services, when in a manner bedridden, was forced, through the ambition of Buckingham, to resign his office of admiral, which he did very unwillingly. At the same time it cost the king dear, who was obliged to make that earl a recompence. But that, after all, he insisted upon his creature Sir Robert Mansel, being made vice-admiral for life, before he would resign; and thus, say they, an experienced and

* See the 2d volume of Winwood's Memorials, p. 69.

† Ibid. p. 91, 92.

‡ Wilson's Life of King James in Kennet's complete History of England, vol. ii. p. 690, 691.

wise officer was removed from a post of the highest importance, to make way for a high spirited youth unfit for such a charge. *

It appears, however, upon the strictest enquiry, and due consideration of all circumstances, that these stories are very ill founded, and that in reality the earl of Nottingham's laying down his post, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneasy to himself or capable of fixing any disgrace on his master. The proposition came first from himself, without any participation of Buckingham, or so much as his knowledge, and was, on account of his age and infirmities, very easily agreed to. His estate was not great, and he had lately married a young lady, the daughter of the earl of Murray, for whom he was desirous of providing, as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he consented to resign, were these; that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds due from him to the crown should be remitted,† that he should have an annual pension of a thousand pounds,‡ and that as earl of Nottingham, he should take place in the house according to the descent of his ancestors, so created by Richard II. and not as a new made peer.§

These points were quickly adjusted. The duke went in person to see him, and to return him thanks for resigning in his favour, at the same time that he made the young countess a present of three thousand pounds.

* The court and character of King James by Sir A. W. i. e. Sir Anthony Weldon; London, 1650, 12mo. p. 123, 124.

† Camden's Annals of King James in Bishop Kennet's complete History, vol. ii. p. 651, 653. Sir William Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 279. Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 360.

‡ Aulicus Coquinarie in answer to the court and character of King James; London, 1650, 12mo. p. 169. This by some is ascribed to Dr. Goodman, bishop of Gloucester.

§ Camden's Annals of King James, p. 653.

He carried also his respect for this venerable old man; ever after as far as it was possible, calling him always father, and bending his knee whenever he approached him. Besides all this, Sir Robert Mansel, who had been ever a dependant upon, and was once the earl of Nottingham's menial servant, but then vice-admiral during pleasure; by the interest of the duke, had that office confirmed to him for life by patent, which his old master took so kindly, that, aged and infirm as he was, he made Buckingham a visit to return him thanks.* In reference to the public, the king was so much aware of what might be said upon this change, that he appointed the marquis of Buckingham in quality of lord high-admiral, a council composed of persons of rank, and who were perfectly versed in naval affairs, without whose advice he was to do nothing material, and by whose advice and assistance he actually made a great reform, bringing the ordinary expense of the fleet from fifty-four thousand to thirty thousand pounds per annum, chiefly by his interest in procuring effectual funds to be assigned for this service.† Upon the whole, therefore, there seems to be nothing in the least dishonourable in this transaction, for all parties were served, and all seem to have been contented. What is said to the contrary flows evidently from a desire of prejudicing the world against the memories of men, from surmises and conjectures; a method of all others the most destructive of the true end and fruit of history, which ought to discover the truth, and instruct thereby such as peruse it.

The remaining years of his life were spent by the earl of Nottingham in honourable ease and retirement, to the time of his decease, which happened on the 14th of

* *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, p. 170.

† *Roberti Johnstoni, rerum Britannicarum Historiæ*, lib. xviii. Sanderson's *History of King James I.* p. 489. Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. i. p. 307, 378, 379.

December, 1624, when he was eighty-eight years old.* He was a person extremely graceful in his appearance, of a just and honest disposition, incapable either of doing bad things, or of seeing them done without exposing them. His steady loyalty to the crown preserved his reputation unstained, and his fortune unhurt, when the rest of his family were in the utmost danger.† Queen Elizabeth knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of some of her greatest favourites. She had a particular felicity in suiting men's employments to their capacities; and this never appeared more clearly than on those occasions wherein she made choice of this nobleman, whose courage no danger could daunt, whose fidelity no temptation could impeach, much less corrupt.

In public employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hospitality in private life, keeping seven standing houses, as Dr. Fuller phrases it, at once.‡ It is true, we meet with opposite accounts of this lord, his character and conduct, especially in the latter part of his life; but as these are only in private letters, written by one apparently prejudiced against him of whom he speaks; and as the rough soldier-like behaviour of Elizabeth's active times suited little with the stiff and solemn air of the statesmen in King James's court, we need not wonder, that among these the earl of Nottingham met with some detractors.§ His actions are sufficient to silence envy, and to destroy the credit of malicious censures. He who beat the Spanish armada,

* From a MS. catalogue of nobility deceased, in the reign of King James I.

† Camden. Sir Rob. Naunton in his *fragmenta regalia*, Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 751.

‡ English *Worthies*, Surrey, p. 84.

§ The reader will find enough of this in a letter of the earl of Northampton to Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador in Spain. *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 91.

equipped a fleet sufficient to assert the sovereignty of the sea in a fortnight's time, and by his presence alone dispirited the earl of Essex's adherents, must have been a very extraordinary man; though we should grant his enemies, that he was not very learned, expressed himself a little bluntly, and, though a person of so high a quality, had little or no tincture of those arts, which, though they are peculiar, do no great honour to a court.

I have inserted his history here, because, though he died in the reign of King James, he spent his life in the service of Queen Elizabeth. He was, indeed, the king's ambassador in Spain, but as he is celebrated for being an able admiral, rather than a great statesman, I thought it but just to insert his memoirs where they might do his memory most honour. For the same reason I refer those of Sir Walter Raleigh to the succeeding reign, because the last action of his life, and that which led to his unfortunate death, fell out under King James. But it is time to resume the thread of our discourse, and to proceed to an account of

**SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT, KNIGHT, AN EMINENT
SEAMAN, AND GREAT DISCOVERER.**

THIS gentleman was descended from a very ancient and honourable family in Devonshire, seated there at least as early, and, if some writers are to be credited, even before the conquest.* His father's name was Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, Esq. his mother, Catharine daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, in the same county, who afterwards married Walter Raleigh, of Fardel, Esq.; and by him was mother to the famous Sir Walter

* Collection of arms, &c. of the ancient families in Devonshire, by Sir J. Northcote, Bart, MS.

Raleigh, half-brother to the gentleman of whom we are now writing.* He was but a second son, though his father, having a good estate, left him a considerable fortune.

It was to his mother's care that he owed an excellent education, first at Eton, afterwards at Oxford, which enabled him to make the figure he did in the world, and to distinguish himself in an age fruitful of great men.† He was as fortunate in an aunt as in a mother, Mrs. Catharine Ashly, who attended on the person, and was much in the favour of Queen Elizabeth. She introduced him to that princess while a boy, and the queen being much pleased with his courtly behaviour, love of learning, and generous disposition, recommended him to Sir Henry Sidney as a youth of merit. His genius naturally led him to the study of cosmography, navigation, and the art of war, which he improved by a diligent application, as well as by continual practice; for he with great courage exposed his person early in the service of his country, and acquired a very just reputation from his actions, before he entered upon any of his great projects.‡

The first place wherein he was distinguished for his ripe judgment, as well as for his daring spirit, was in the expedition to Newhaven, wherein he behaved with so much prudence, and his various attempts were attended with so great success, that though then but a young man, he was much considered, and raised high expectations in all who knew him. In several expeditions undertaken in those troublesome times, he added to his fortune as well as to his fame; and being always ready, both in discourse and with his pen, to render a

* Sir William Pole's Description of Devonshire.

† Risdon's Survey of Devonshire, vol. i. p. 152, 172. Fuller's Worthies, Devon, p. 260.

‡ Supply of Irish Chronicles by Hooker, p. 132. Fuller's Worthies in Devon, p. 260.

reason for his own conduct, and to apologize for others, he came to be considered, by some of the most eminent persons in the court of Queen Elizabeth, as one capable of doing his country great service, particularly in Ireland, where men of true abilities were much wanted.* Their conceptions concurring with Mr. Gilbert's views, and with that ambition of making himself known by great achievements, which was the ruling passion of his noble mind, he accepted the offers that were made him, and passing over into that island, became president of Munster, where he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the Irish, than any Englishman employed in that service.

By his industry and address, he composed the stirs raised by the Mac-Carthies, and by his valour and activity drove the Butlers out of his province, when they swerved from their duty. He likewise forced James Fitz-Morrice, the greatest captain amongst the Irish, to abandon his country,† and seek for safety abroad; and performed many other things in conjunction with his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, which would well deserve to be recorded here, if the limits of this work would permit, or if they fell in with my design: but as we mention him only as a seaman, it will be unnecessary to dwell on such actions of his life as have no relation to that character; and therefore let us hasten to the proposals he made for discovering a passage by the north to the Indies, in which he laboured as rationally and as assiduously, though at the same time as unsuccessfully, as any man in the age in which he lived.

* Stowe, p. 312. Sidney Papers, vol. i. p. 28.

† Camden, vol. i. p. 198, 199. Sidney Papers, vol. i. p. 36, 38, 39. Cox's History of Ireland, p. 333.

It is not very clear, whether this gentleman had acquired the honour of knighthood before his return out of Ireland or not: there are authorities on both sides;* but I incline to think, that he received that honour from Sir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, about the year 1570, and that he did not come over to England till some years afterwards.† The first discovery he made, both of his knowledge and of his intentions, was in his discourse to prove that there is a north-west passage to the East Indies, which was first printed in the year 1576, though I conceive it was written some time before.‡

It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece; and at the close of it there is an account of another treatise of navigation which he had written and intended to publish, and which is now probably lost. The design of this discourse was to excite a spirit of discovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate a design he had formed for planting unknown countries, as well as for the discovery of the north-west passage; for that he still had this, among other projects, in view, is plain from the letters-patent granted to his brother Adrian Gilbert in 1583. For the present, however, he adhered to his design of planting, and with that view procured from the queen an ample patent, dated at Westminster, June 11, 1578, wherein he had full powers given him to undertake the western discovery of America, and to inhabit and possess any lands hitherto unsettled by Christian princes or their subjects.§

* Prince's worthies of Devonshire, wherein he first places his knighthood, A. D. 1570, afterwards 1577; but in both asserts, from Sir William Pole's MS. that it was conferred by Queen Elizabeth, p. 327.

† Supply of Irish chronicles by Hooker, p. 132.

‡ This treatise is still preserved in Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 11.

§ This patent is also extant in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 135.

Immediately on the procuring these letters-patent, Sir Humphry applied himself to the procuring associates in so great an undertaking, wherein at first he seemed to be highly successful, his reputation for knowledge being very great, and his credit as a commander thoroughly established; yet, when the project came to be executed, many departed from their agreements, and others, even after the fleet was prepared, separated themselves, and chose to run their own fortunes in their own way.* These misfortunes, however, did not deter Sir Humphry from prosecuting his scheme, in which also he was seconded by his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, and a few other friends, of unshaken resolution. With these he sailed to Newfoundland, where he continued but a short time, and, being then compelled to return, he in his passage home met with some Spanish vessels, from whom he cleared himself with great difficulty. This seems to have been in the summer of 1578; but we have a very dark account of it, without dates or circumstances, further than those which have been already given.† Yet his miscarriage in this first undertaking was far from discouraging him; for after his return he went on as cheerfully, as he had done before, in procuring fresh assistance for completing what he intended, and for promoting Christian knowledge by the means of English settlements in undiscovered lands. This conduct sufficiently shewed not only the steadiness of his courage, but the extent of his credit, since, after such a disappointment, another commander would scarce have found any adventurers to join with him; which, however, was not his case.‡

* See Mr. Hayes's account in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 145. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1369. Risdon's Survey of Devon, vol. ii. p. 205.

† See the life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Mr. Oldys, p. 13.

‡ As appears by Sir George Peckham's relation of Sir Humphry's voyage. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 165.

One thing which hastened his second expedition was this, that though the grant in his patent was perpetual, yet there was a clause in it by which it was declared void, in case no possession was actually taken within the space of six years. This term drawing to a close, Sir Humphry, in the spring of the year 1583, hastened his friends in their preparations, so as by the first of June his little fleet was in readiness to sail. It consisted of five ships: I. The *Delight*, of the burden of one hundred and twenty tons, admiral, in which went the general Sir Humphry Gilbert, and under him captain William Winter: II. The bark *Raleigh*, a stout new ship of 200 tons, vice-admiral, built, manned, and victualled at the expense of Sir Walter, then Mr. Raleigh, under the command of Captain Butler: III. The *Golden Hind*, of forty tons, rear-admiral, commanded by Captain Edward Hayes, who was also her owner: IV. The *Swallow*, of the like burden, commanded by Captain Maurice Brown: V. The *Squirrel*, of the burden only of ten tons, under the command of Captain William Andrews.*

They sailed from Plymouth on the 11th of June, and on the 13th, the bark *Raleigh* returned, the captain and most of those on board her falling sick of a contagious distemper. On the 30th of the same month, the rest of the fleet had sight of Newfoundland. On the 3d of August, they landed; the general read his commission, which was submitted to by all the English vessels upon the coast; and on the 5th, he took possession of the harbour of St. John, in the name of the queen of England, and granted, as her patentee, certain leases unto such as were willing to take them. At the same

* Risdon's survey of Devon, vol. ii. p. 205, 206. Narborough's Voyages, edit. 1711. p. 13. Dr. Birch's memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 34.

time, a discovery was made of a very rich silver mine, by one Daniel, a Saxon, an able miner, brought by the general for that purpose. *

Sir Humphry now inclined to put to sea again, in order to make the best use of his time in discovering as far as possible; and having sent home the *Swallow*, with such as were sick, or discouraged with the hardships they had already undergone, he left the harbour of St. John's, in 47 degrees 40 minutes N. L. on the 20th of August, himself in the small sloop called the *Squirrel*, because, being light, she was the fitter for entering all creeks and harbours; Captain Brown in the *Delight*, and Captain Hayes in the *Golden Hind*. On the 27th, they found themselves in latitude of 45 degrees; and though the weather was fair, and in all appearance like to continue so, yet, on the 29th of August, in the evening, a sudden storm arose, wherein the *Delight* was lost, twelve men only escaping in her boat. This was a fatal blow to Sir Humphry Gilbert, not only with respect to the value of the ship, and the lives of the men, but also in regard to his future hopes, for in her he lost his Saxon miner, and with him the silver ore which had been dug in Newfoundland, and of which, he was so confident, as to tell some of his friends, that, upon the credit of that mine, he doubted not to borrow ten thousand pounds of the queen for his next voyage. †

On the 2d of September, he went on board the *Golden Hind*, in order to have his foot dressed, which by accident he had hurt in treading on a nail. He remained on board all day, and those who were in that vessel, did all that was in their power to persuade him to make his voyage home in her, which he absolutely refused to do, affirming, that he would never desert his bark and his little

* Mr. Hayes's Account of Sir Humphry's Voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iij. p. 154.

† Ibid. p. 155.

crew, with whom, he had escaped so many dangers. A generous, but fatal resolution! For the vessel being too small to resist the swell of those tempestuous seas, about midnight, on the 9th of September, was swallowed up, and never seen more. * In the evening, when they were in great danger, Sir Humphry was seen sitting in the stern of the bark, with a book in his hand, and was often heard to say, with a loud voice, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at sea as at land." Thus he died, like a Christian hero, full of hope, as having the testimony of a good conscience. Mr. Edward Hayes, who accompanied Sir Humphry in his voyage, and who hath left us an account of it, affirms, that he was principally determined to his fatal resolution of sailing in the *Squirrel*, by a malicious report that had been spread, of his being timorous at sea. † If so, it appears, that death was less dreadful to him than shame; but it is hard to believe, that so wise a man could be wrought upon, by so weak and insignificant a reflection.

Such was the fate of Sir Humphry Gilbert! one of the worthiest men of that age, whether we regard the strength of his understanding, or his heroic courage. Some further particulars relating to him I might have added from Prince's *Worthies of Devonshire*, but that I am suspicious of their credit, and the more so, because they do not agree well together; besides, they are but trivial, and my design leads me to take notice of such only as concern his character. ‡ The reason I have given his memoirs a place

* *Camdeni Annales*, vol. ii. p. 402. *Risdon's Survey*, vol. ii. p. 207. *Stowe*, p. 812. *Fuller's Worthies in Devon*, p. 261.

† *Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 159.

‡ He tells us, amongst other things, that the queen, of her particular grace, gave to Sir Humphry Gilbert, a golden anchor, with a large pearl at the peak. If this were true, it is strange, that in the prolix accounts we have of his voyages, and in the Latin poem written expressly to do him honour, by Stephen Parmenius, an Hungarian, who accompanied him in his last voyage, there should be no mention

here is this, that he was, in a manner, the parent of all our plantations, being the first who introduced a legal and regular method of settling, without which, such undertakings must necessarily prove unsuccessful. Besides, his treatise of the north-west passage was the ground of all the expectations, which the best seaman had for many years, of actually finding such a route to the East Indies; and though, at present, we know many things advanced therein to be false, yet we likewise find many of his conjectures true, and all of them founded in reason, and the philosophy then commonly received. I shall conclude my account of him by transcribing a passage which he affirms of his own knowledge, and which I judge worthy of consideration, because some later accounts of the Spanish missionaries in California, affirm the same thing.

“ There was,” says he, “ one Salvaterra, a gentleman of Victoria in Spain, that came by chance out of the West Indies into Ireland, *anno* 1568, who affirmed the north-west passage from us to Cataia, constantly to be believed in America navigable; and further said, in the presence of Sir Henry Sidney (then lord-deputy of Ireland) in my hearing, that a frier of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more than eight years before his then coming into Ireland, told him, that he came from Mer del Sur into Germany, through this north-west passage, and shewed Salvaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a sea-card made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down and described, this north-west passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius’s map. And further, this frier

of it. Perhaps, he had this circumstance from some such authority as that from whence he took Sir Humphry’s motto, which, he says was, *Mallem mori, quam mutare*; whereas, Sir Humphry himself, gives it thus, *Mutare vel timere sperno*. But, that the former was the family motto of the Gilberts of Compton, and also of the Gilberts of Greenway, I have been since informed. Worthies of Devon, p. 826—329. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 24.

“ told the king of Portugal, as he returned by that country
 “ homeward, that there was (of certainty) such a passage
 “ north-west from England, and that he meant to publish
 “ the same; which done, the king most earnestly desired
 “ him not in any wise, to disclose or make the passage
 “ known to any nation; for that, (said the king) if England
 “ had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly
 “ hinder both the king of Spain and me. This frier (as
 “ Salvaterra reported) was the greatest discoverer by sea,
 “ that hath been in our age. Also Salvaterra, being
 “ persuaded of this passage by the frier Urdaneta, and by
 “ the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting
 “ America, offered most willingly to accompany me in
 “ this discovery, which, it is like, he would not have
 “ done, if he had stood in doubt thereof.” *

It is true, that Sir William Monson discredits this relation, as he endeavours to refute all the reasons that have been offered to support the opinion of a passage to the north-west; † yet I meddle not with the dispute, but with the fact, which, as I have said, is confirmed by later testimonies to the same purpose. Let us now proceed to

**SIR JOHN HAWKINS, A FAMOUS ADMIRAL, AND
 ONE WHO PERFORMED MANY GREAT SERVICES
 AGAINST THE SPANIARDS.**

This gentleman was a native of Devonshire, as well as the former, and descended also of a good family; his father was William Hawkins, Esq. a gentleman of a considerable estate; his mother's name was Joan Trelawny, daughter of William Trelawny, of the county of Cornwall, Esq. Our John Hawkins was their second son, born at Plymouth, ‡ but in what year I have not been able to find:

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 19.

† Naval Tracts, p. 428.

‡ Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389.

however, from circumstances we may gather, that it could not be later than 1520. He was, from his youth, addicted to navigation and the study of the mathematics, as indeed were all his family, and began, very early, to carry his skill into practice, by making several voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, which were, in those days, extraordinary undertakings, and must have given him much more experience than almost any of his contemporaries. *

Of these voyages, we have no particular account, any more than of those of his father Mr. William Hawkins, who was likewise, a very great seaman, and the first of our nation who made a voyage to Brazil.† His son, probably, reaped the benefit of his observations; for he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by Queen Elizabeth, as an officer at sea, when some, who were afterwards her chief commanders, were but boys, and learned the skill, by which they rose, from him.

In the spring of the year 1562, he formed the design of his first famous voyage, advantageous to himself and most of his proprietors; but much more so in its consequences to his country. In several trips to the Canaries, where, by his tenderness and humanity, he had made himself much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the slave-trade, and of the mighty profit obtained by the sale of negroes in the West Indies. After due consideration, he resolved to attempt somewhat in this way, and to raise a subscription amongst his friends (the greatest traders in the city of London) for opening a new trade, first to Guinea for slaves, and then to Hispanolia, St. John, de Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands, for sugars, hides,

* I have seen a catalogue of the ancient families in Devon, amongst whom, his has a place; and we may collect, from circumstances, that his father was a gentleman of considerable fortune, as is said above.

† Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 520.

silver, &c. Upon his representation of the affair, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, Mr. Bromfield, and Mr. Gunson, whose daughter, Mr. Hawkins married, readily joined in the undertaking.*

At their expense, a little fleet was prepared, composed of the following ships: the Solomon, of the burthen of one hundred and twenty tons, in which went, Mr. Hawkins himself; the Swallow, of one hundred tons, commanded by Captain Thomas Hampton, and a bark of forty tons, called the Jonas; on board of which, there were about one hundred men in all. Such were the beginnings of Britain's naval power! With this squadron, he sailed from the coast of England, in the month of October, 1562, and in his course, first touched at Teneriffe, sailed thence to the coast of Guinea, where having, by force or purchase, acquired three hundred negroe slaves, he sailed directly to Hispaniola, and making there a large profit, he returned safe into England, in the month of September, 1563.†

The next year he made another voyage with a much greater force, himself being in the *Jesus*, of Lubeck, a ship of seven hundred tons, accompanied by the Solomon, and two barks, the *Tiger* and the *Swallow*. He sailed from Plymouth the 18th of October, 1564, proceeded to the coast of Guinea, and thence to the Spanish West Indies, where he forced a trade much to his profit; and, after visiting the port of the Havannah, came home through the gulf of Florida, arriving at Padstowe, in Cornwall, on the 20th of September, 1565, having lost but twenty persons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities.‡ His skill and success had now raised him to such a reputation, that Mr. Harvey, then Clarencieux king at arms,

* Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1179.

† Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 500.

‡ Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 501.

granted him, by patent, for his crest, a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord. *

In the beginning of the year 1567, he sailed to the relief of the French Protestants in Rochelle, and returning home in the summer, began to make the necessary preparations for his third voyage to the West Indies, which he undertook some time afterwards. †

Mr. Hawkins made this, as he did his former voyage, in the *Jesus*, of Lubeck, accompanied by the *Minion*, and four other ships. He sailed with these from Plymouth the 2d of October, 1567. At first they met with such storms that they had thoughts of returning home; but the weather growing better, and the wind coming fair, he continued his course to the Canaries, thence to the coast of Guinea, and so to the Spanish America, to sell his negroes. The governor of Rio de la Hacha refusing to trade, Hawkins landed and took the town, in which there seems to have been some collusion; for, notwithstanding this, they traded together in a friendly manner till most of the negroes were sold. Thence he sailed to Carthagena, where he disposed of the rest; but, in returning home, being surprised with storms on the coast of Florida, he was forced to steer for the port of St. John de Ulloa, in the bottom of the bay of Mexico. He entered the port the 16th of September, 1568, when the Spaniards came on board, supposing him to have come from Spain, and were exceedingly frightened when they found their mistake. Mr. Hawkins treated them very civilly, assuring them, that all he came for was provisions; neither did he attack twelve merchant ships that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth two hundred thousand pounds, but contented himself with seizing two persons of distinction,

* Prince, in the page before cited, tells us, he took this from the original patent.

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. Prince, p. 389.

whom he kept as hostages, while an express was sent to Mexico with an account of his demands.

The next day the Spanish fleet appeared in sight, which gave Captain Hawkins great uneasiness; for, if he kept them out, he was sensible they must be lost, with all they had on board, which amounted to near two millions sterling; an act which, considering there was no war declared against Spain, he was afraid his native sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, would never pardon. On the other hand, he was no less sensible that, the port being narrow, and the town pretty populous, the Spaniards would not fail, if once they were suffered to come in, to attempt some treachery. At length he determined to admit the fleet, provided the new viceroy of Mexico, who was on board it, would agree that the English should have victuals for their money; that hostages should be given on both sides; and that the island, with eleven pieces of brass cannon which were therein, should be yielded to his crew, while they staid. At these demands, the viceroy at first seemed highly displeased; yet quickly after he yielded to them, and, at a personal conference with Mr. Hawkins, solemnly promised to perform them. *

At the end of three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on the 26th, with the usual salutations, and two days more were employed to range the ships of each nation by themselves, the officers and sailors on both sides using reciprocal civilities, and professing a great deal of friendship. But the Spaniards intended nothing less; for they had by this time mustered one thousand men on land, and designed on Thursday the 24th, at dinner time, to set on the English on every side. On the day appointed, in the morning, the English perceived the Spaniards shifting their weapons from ship

* Camdeni Annales, p. 158. Sir John Hawkin's account of this voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 542, 543.

to ship, pointing their ordnance towards them ; they likewise observed a greater number of men passing to and fro, than the business on board the ships required, which, with other circumstances, giving grounds of suspicion, Captain Hawkins sent to the viceroy to know the meaning of such unusual motions ; whereupon the viceroy sent orders to have every thing removed that might give the English umbrage, with a promise, on the faith of a viceroy, to be their defence against any clandestine attempts of the Spaniards. The captain, however, not being satisfied with this answer, because he suspected a great number of men to be hidden in a ship of nine hundred tons, which was moored next the *Minion*, sent the master of the *Jesus*, who understood Spanish, to know of the viceroy whether it was so or not. The viceroy, finding he could conceal his mean and villainous design no longer, detained the master, and causing the trumpet to be sounded, the Spaniards on this signal, of which they were apprized, began the attack upon the English on all sides. Those who were upon the island, being struck with fear at this sudden alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ships ; but the Spaniards, debarking in great numbers at several places at once, (which they might do without boats, the ships lying close to the shore,) slew them all without mercy, excepting a few who escaped on board the *Jesus*. *

The great ship, wherein three hundred men were concealed, immediately fell on board the *Minion* ; but she, having put all hands to work the moment their suspicions commenced, had in that short space, which was but a bare half hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the first brunt of the great ship, the latter clapped the *Jesus* aboard, which was at

* Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1177. Sir Walter Raleigh's Works, vol. ii. p. 271, 272.

the same time attacked by two other ships. However, with much ado, and the loss of many men, she kept them off till she cut her cable, and got clear also. As soon as the *Jesus* and the *Minion* were got two ships length from the Spanish fleet, they began the fight, which was so furious, that in one hour the admiral of the Spaniards, and another ship were supposed to be sunk, and their vice-admiral burned, so that they had little to fear from the enemy's ships; but they suffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the island, which sunk their small ships, and mangled all the masts and rigging of the *Jesus* in such a manner, that there was no hopes of bringing her off.

This being the case, they determined to place her for a shelter to the *Minion* till night, and then taking out of her what victuals and other necessaries they could, to leave her behind. But presently after, perceiving two large ships, fired by the Spaniards, bearing down directly upon them, the men on board the *Minion*, in great consternation, without consent of either the captain or master, set sail and made off from the *Jesus* in such haste, that Captain Hawkins had scarce time to reach her. As for the men, most of them followed in a small boat, the rest were left to the mercy of the Spaniards, which, says the captain, I doubt was very little. *

The *Minion* and the *Judith* were the only two English ships that escaped; and in the night, the *Judith*, which was a bark only of fifty tons, separated herself from the *Minion*, on board which was Captain Hawkins and the best part of his men. In this distress, having little to eat, less water, in unknown seas, and many of his men wounded, he continued till the 8th of October, and then entered a creek in the bay of Mexico, in order to obtain some refreshment. This was about the mouth of the river Tampico, in the latitude of 23 degrees 36 minutes N.

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524.

where his company dividing, one hundred desired to be put on shore, and the rest, who were about the same number, resolved at all events to endeavour to get home. Accordingly, on the 16th, they weighed and stood through the gulf of Florida, making the best of their way for Europe. In their passage, they were forced to put into Ponte Vedra, in Spain, where the Spaniards coming to know their weakness, thought by treachery to seize them a second time; but they suspecting this, sailed forthwith to Vigo, not far off.

They there met with some English ships, which supplied their wants, and departing on the 20th of January, 1586, arrived in Mount's Bay, in Cornwall, the 25th of January following. As to the hardships endured in this unfortunate expedition, they cannot be more strongly or exactly pictured, than in the following lines, with which Captain Hawkins concludes his own relation. * "If all the miseries and troublesome affairs," says he, "of this sorrowful voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deaths of the martyrs." † In reward of his famous action at Rio de la Hacha, Mr. Cook, then Clarencieux, added to his arms, on an escutcheon of pretence, Or, an escallop between two palmer's staves Sable; and his patent for this augmentation is still extant. ‡

When the Spanish fleet went to fetch Anne of Austria, the last wife of Philip the Second, out of Flanders, Sir John Hawkins with a small squadron of her majesty's

* Camdeni Annales, p. 352. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524, 525. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1177.

† These are the last words of Captain Hawkins's relation; but the inquisitive reader may find some further circumstances relating to this unfortunate voyage, in the travels of Miles Philips, and of Job Hartop, two of the men set on shore by Sir John Hawkins, in the bay of Mexico, in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. iii. p. 469, 487.

‡ Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389, from the copy of this patent.

ships was riding in Catwater, which the Spanish admiral perceiving, he endeavoured to run between the island and the place, without paying the usual salutes. Sir John ordered the gunner of his own ship to fire at the rigging of the Spanish admiral, who taking no notice of it, the gunner fired next at the hull, and shot through and through. The Spaniards, upon this, took in their flags and topsails, and run to an anchor. The Spanish admiral then sent an officer of distinction in a boat, to carry at once his compliments and complaints to Sir John Hawkins. He, standing upon deck, would not either admit the officer, or hear his message; but bid him tell his admiral, that having neglected the respect due to the queen of England, in her seas and port, and having so large a fleet under his command, he must not expect to lie there, but in twelve hours weigh his anchor and be gone; otherwise he should regard him as an enemy declared, his conduct having already rendered him suspected.

The Spanish admiral, upon receiving this message, came off in person, and went in his boat to the *Jesus of Lubeck*, on board which Sir John Hawkins's flag was flying, desiring to speak with him; which at first was refused, but at length granted. The Spaniard then expostulated the matter, insisted that there was peace between the two crowns, and that he knew not what to make of the treatment he had received. Sir John Hawkins told him, that his own arrogance had brought it upon him, and that he could not but know what respect was due to the queen's ships; that he had despatched an express to her majesty with advice of his behaviour, and that, in the mean time, he would do well to depart. The Spaniard still pleaded ignorance, and that he was ready to give satisfaction.

Upon this, Sir John Hawkins told him mildly, that he could not be a stranger to what was practised by the French and Spaniards in their own seas and ports; adding, Put the case, sir, that an English fleet came into any of the

king, your master's ports, his majesty's ships being there, and those English ships should carry their flags in their tops, would you not shoot them down, and beat the ships out of your port? The Spaniard owned he would, confessed he was in the wrong, submitted to the penalty Sir John imposed, was then very kindly entertained, and they parted very good friends. This account we have from his son, Sir Richard Hawkins, who was eye-witness of all that passed.

The next great action of this worthy seaman, was his service under the lord-high-admiral, in 1588, against the Spanish armada, wherein he acted as rear-admiral on board her majesty's ship the *Victory*, and had as large a share of the danger and honour of that day as any man in the fleet, for which he most deservedly received the honour of knighthood; * and, in pursuit of the flying Spaniards he did extraordinary service, insomuch that, on his return from the fleet, he was particularly commended by the queen.

In 1590, he was sent, in conjunction with Sir Martin Forbisher, each having a squadron of five men of war, to infest the coasts of Spain, and intercept, if possible, the Plate fleet. At first, his Catholic majesty thought of opposing these famous commanders, with a superior fleet of twenty sail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Bassan; but, upon more mature deliberation, he abandoned this design, directed his ships to keep close in port, and sent instructions into the Indies, that the fleet, instead of returning, should winter there. Sir John Hawkins, and his colleague, spent seven months in this station, without performing any thing of note, or so much as taking a single ship. They afterwards attempted the island of Fayal, which had submitted the year before to the earl of Cumberland; but the citadel being re-fortified, and the inha-

* Stowe's Annals, p. 748. Speed, p. 861. Strype's Annals.

bitants well furnished with artillery and ammunition, Sir John and his associates were forced to retreat.

It must be owned, that with the populace very small reputation was gained by the admirals in this expedition; and yet they lost no credit at court, where the issue of the business was better understood. By compelling the Spanish navy to fly into fortified ports, they destroyed their reputation as a maritime power; and, the wintering of their Plate ships in the Indies, proved so great a detriment to the merchants of Spain, that many broke, in Seville and other places; besides, it was so great a prejudice to their vessels to winter in the Indies, that the damage could not be repaired in many years. Thus, though no immediate profit accrued, the end of this expedition was fully answered, and the nation gained a very signal advantage, by grievously distressing her enemies.*

The war with Spain continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy so much as the losses they met with in the Indies, a proposition was made to the queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, the most experienced seamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into those parts, than had been hitherto made through the whole course of the war; and, at the same time, they offered to be at a great part of the expense themselves, and to engage their friends to bear a considerable proportion of the rest. There were many motives which induced our admiral, though then far in years, to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his person in this dangerous service; amongst which, this was not the last or the least, that his son Richard, who was afterwards Sir Richard Hawkins, was at this time a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, and some hope there was, that,

* Camdeni Annales, p. 620. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 177. Linschotten's Voyages, chap. 99.

in the course of such an enterprize, an opportunity might offer of redeeming him. *

The queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furnished, on her part, a stout squadron of men of war, on board one of which, the *Garland*, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their squadron consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and their whole force amounted to about two thousand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, there was none of which so great hope was conceived as this, and yet none succeeded worse. The fleet was detained for some time after it was ready on the English coast by the arts of the Spaniards, who, having intelligence of its strength, and of the ends for which it was equipped, conceived, that the only means by which it could be defeated, was practising some contrivances that might disappoint the first exploits intended, by procuring delay; in order to which, they gave out, that they were ready themselves to invade England; and, to render this the more probable, they actually sent four gallies to make a sudden descent on Cornwall. By these steps they carried their point; for, the queen and the nation being alarmed, it was held by no means proper to send so great a number of stout ships on so long a voyage at so critical a juncture.

At last, this storm blowing over, the fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 28th of August, in order to execute their grand design of burning *Nombre de Dios*, marching thence by land to Panama, and there seizing the treasure which they knew was arrived at that place from Peru. A few days before their departure, the queen sent them advice, that the Plate fleet was safely arrived in Spain, excepting only a single galleon, which, having lost a mast, had been obliged to return to Porto-Rico; the taking of this vessel she recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and

* Sir Richard Hawkins's *Observations on his Voyage to the South Seas*, p. 133.

which could prove no great hinderance to their other affair. When they were at sea, the generals differed, as is usual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing immediately what the queen had commanded, whereas Sir Francis Drake inclined to go first to the Canaries, in which he prevailed; but, the attempt they made was unsuccessful; and then they sailed for Dominica, where they spent too much time in refreshing themselves, and setting up their pinnaces. In the mean time, the Spaniards had sent five stout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto-Rico, having exact intelligence of the intention of the English admirals to attempt that place. On the 30th of October, Sir John Hawkins weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the same day, the *Francis*, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the sternmost of Sir John's ships, fell in with the five sail of Spanish frigates before mentioned, and was taken; the consequences of which being foreseen by Sir John, it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the 21st of November, 1595, when they were in sight of the island of Porto-Rico, and not, as Sir William Monson suggests, of chagrin on the miscarriage in attempting the city of the same name, which, in truth, he never lived to see.*

At so great a distance of time it may seem strange to enter into, or at least to enter minutely into the character of this famous seaman; but, as we have good authorities, and such reflections may be of use to posterity, we think it not amiss to undertake this task, in performing which, we shall use all the care and impartiality that can be ex-

* *Camdeni Annales*, p. 698, 699, 700. Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 182, 183. There is an accurate and copious account of this voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 583. as also in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. iv. p. 1183. See also the following tracts, entitled, *Relation of a Voyage to the West Indies*, by Sir Francis Drake, &c. p. 50.

pected. * Sir John had naturally strong parts, which he improved by constant application. He was apt in council to differ from other men's opinions, and yet was reserved in discovering his own. † He was slow, jealous, and somewhat irresolute; yet, in action he was merciful, apt to forgive, and a strict observer of his word. As he had passed a great part of his life at sea, he had too great a dislike of land-soldiers. ‡ When occasion required it, he could dissemble, though he was naturally of a blunt rather than reserved disposition. And, now we are making a catalogue of his faults, let us not forget the greatest, which was the love of money, wherein he exceeded all just bounds. §

In spite, however, of his imperfections, he was always esteemed one of the ablest of his profession, of which these are no inconsiderable proofs, that he was a noted commander at sea forty-eight years, and treasurer of the navy two and twenty. ||

He, and his eldest brother William, were owners at once of thirty sail of good ships; ¶ and, it was generally owned, that Sir John Hawkins was the author of more useful inventions, and introduced into the navy better regulations, than any officer who had borne command therein before his time. One instance of this amongst many, was the institution of that noble fund, (for I will not call it charity,

* In order to this, I have compared what is to be met with in Hakluyt, Purchas, Monson, Stowe, and Sir Richard Hawkins's book, as also whatever notices I have been able to collect from other contemporary writers.

† Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 183.

‡ See a very remarkable letter signed R. M. by one who had sailed with Hawkins and Drake, and drew a parallel between them. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1185.

§ I take this from the said letter, and from some MS. remarks on Hakluyt.

|| Camdeni *Annales*, p. 700. Stowe's *Annals*, p. 807. Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 371.

¶ Stowe's *Annals*, p. 807.

because that term implies, in common acceptation, alms,) the **CHEST** at **CHATHAM**, which was the humane and wise contrivance of this gentleman and Sir Francis Drake; and, their scheme, that seamen, safe and successful, should, by a voluntary deduction from their pay, give relief to the wants, and reward to those who are maimed in the service of their country, was approved by the queen, and has been adopted by posterity. Sir John Hawkins built also a noble hospital, which he plentifully endowed at the same place. *

MEMOIRS OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, A MOST SKILFUL SEAMAN, THE FIRST WHO MADE A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, AND VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE ENGLISH FLEET IN 1588.

It seems in some measure to detract from the common notions about nobility of birth, and the advantages of blood, that several of the most illustrious persons in our nation have risen from very obscure beginnings, and have left their historians difficulties enough to struggle with in deriving their descents. This is particularly true of Sir Francis Drake, concerning whose family, I must confess, I can say nothing with certainty. That he was born in Devonshire, occasioned his being taken notice of by the reverend Mr. Prince, who has left us a life of him not much to be depended on; † and, as to earlier writers, who might have been better informed, many of them are silent.

According to the account given by Mr. Camden, who professes to have taken it from his own mouth, we are told that he was son of a person in ordinary circumstances, who

* Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*. Kilburn's *Survey of Kent*, p. 53. MSS. of Samuel Pepys, Esq.

† *Worthies of Devon*, p. 236.

lived at a small village in Devonshire, and that Sir Francis Russel, afterwards earl of Bedford, was his godfather. His father, having embraced the Protestant religion, was obliged to quit his country, and retire to Kent, where he first read prayers on board the fleet, was afterwards ordained deacon, and, in process of time, became vicar of the church of Upnore. As for our Francis Drake, he was bound apprentice to the master of a coasting vessel, whom he served so faithfully, that, dying unmarried, he bequeathed his ship to Drake, which laid the primary foundation of his fortunes.*

I do not doubt but many, or, indeed, most of the circumstances in this story may be true, if brought into their right order; but, as they stand in Camden, they cannot be so; for, first, this account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled about the six articles, and he was born some time before, Sir Francis Russel could have been but a child, and therefore not likely to be his godfather.† Another story there is, as circumstantial, and written as early, which, perhaps, some judicious reader will be able to reconcile with this; but, whether that can be done or not, I think it better deserves credit. According to this relation, I find that he was the son of one Edmund Drake, an honest sailor, and born near Tavistock, in the year 1545, being the eldest of twelve brethren, and brought up at the expense, and under the care, of his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins. I likewise find, that, at the age of eighteen, he was purser of a ship trading to Biscay, that at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and, at the age of twenty-two, had the honour to be ap-

* Camdeni Annales, p. 351. Yet in his *Britannia*, p. 145, he makes him a native of Plymouth. *English Hero*, p. 1. and Fuller's *Holy State*, p. 123.

† It appears by the monumental inscription on the tomb of this noble person, that he was born A. D. 1527, and was therefore but ten years old at Drake's christening according to this account, but might well be his godfather, if born 1545.

pointed captain of the *Judith*, in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the gulf of Mexico, where he behaved most gallantly in that glorious action, under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him into England with a very great reputation, but not worth a single groat.*

Upon this he conceived a design of making reprisals on the king of Spain, which, some say, was put into his head by the minister of his ship; and, to be sure, in sea-divinity, the case was clear, the king of Spain's subjects had undone Mr. Drake, and, therefore, Mr. Drake was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on the subjects of the king of Spain.† This doctrine, how rudely soever preached, was very taking in England; and, therefore, he no sooner published his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no such pretence even as he had to colour their proceedings.‡ In 1570, he made his first expedition with two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*, and the next year in the *Swan* alone, wherein he returned safe, with competent advantages, if not rich; and, having now means sufficient to perform greater matters, as well as skill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important design with respect to himself and to his enemies.§

This he put in execution on the 24th of March, 1572, on which day he sailed from Plymouth, himself in a ship called the *Pascha*, of the burden of seventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons burden, their whole strength consisting of no more than twenty-three men and boys; and, with this inconsiderable force, on the 22d of July, || he attacked the town of Nombre de Dios,

* Stowe's Annals, p. 807. † Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 239.

‡ Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camdeni Annales, p. 351.

§ Sir Francis Drake revived by Philip Nichols, preacher, a 4to. of 94 pages in black letter, published by Sir Francis Drake, baronet, his nephew.

|| This is one of those facts which prove, that things really happen, which are altogether improbable, and which, but for the weight of

which then served the Spaniards for the same purposes (though not so conveniently) as those for which they now use Porto-Bello. He took it in a few hours by storm, notwithstanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet, upon the whole, they were no great gainers, but, after a very brisk action, were obliged to betake themselves to their ships with very little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but, in this scheme too he was disappointed. However, he attacked the town of Vera Cruz, carried it, and got some little booty. In their return, they met unexpectedly with a string of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the rest.* In these expeditions, he was greatly assisted by the Simerons, a nation of Indians who are engaged in a perpetual war with the Spaniards. The prince, or captain of these people, whose name was Pedro, was presented by Captain Drake, with a fine cutlass, which he at that time wore, and to which he saw the Indian had a mind. Pedro, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, which Captain Drake threw into the common stock, with this remarkable expression, "That he thought it but just, that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage on his credit, should share the utmost advantages that voyage produced." Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very considerable, he bore away for England,† and was so fortunate as to sail in twenty-

evidence which attend them, would not only be esteemed fiction but absurdities.

* Captain Drake's conduct was in all respects equal to his courage; he proposed coming into these seas on the same errand again; and, to this design, and the means that might accomplish it, all his actions point.

† At the distance of a century Sir William Davenant, poet-laureat in the reign of King Charles II. made this expedition the basis of a dramatic performance, called *THE HISTORY OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE*.

three days from Cape Florida to the isles of Scilly, and thence without any accident to Plymouth, where he arrived the ninth of August, 1573.*

His success in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the use he made of his riches still a greater; for, fitting out three stout frigates at his own expense, he sailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter earl of Essex, (the father of that unfortunate earl who was beheaded,) he served as a volunteer, and did many glorious actions.† After the death of his noble patron, he returned into England, where Sir Christopher Hatton, who was then vice-chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, privy-counsellor, afterwards lord-chancellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her majesty, and procured him her countenance.‡ By this means he acquired a capacity of undertaking that glorious expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he first proposed, was a voyage into the South seas through the Streights of Magellan, which was what hitherto no Englishman ever attempted. This project was well received at court, and, in a short time, Captain Drake saw himself at the height of his wishes; for, in his former voyage, having had a distant prospect of the South seas, he framed an ardent prayer to God, that he might sail an English ship in them, which he found now an opportunity of attempting, the queen's permission furnishing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force sufficient.§

The squadron with which he sailed on this extraordinary undertaking, consisted of the following ships: the *Pelican*, commanded by himself, of the burden of one hundred tons;

* See that relation, as also *Camdeni Annales*, p. 351.

† *Stowe's Annals*, p. 807. ‡ *Id. Ibid.*

§ *Camdeni Annales*, p. 352. *Stowe's Annals*, p. 689. *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, p. 237.

the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, eighty tons, under Captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by Captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of fifty tons, under Captain John Chester; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under Captain Thomas Moon.* In this fleet were embarked no more than one hundred and sixty-four able men, and all the necessary provisions for so long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though all men suspected, and many knew, he intended for America. Thus equipped, on the 15th of November, 1577, about three in the afternoon, he sailed from Plymouth; but, a heavy storm taking him as soon as he was out of port, forced him, in a very bad condition, into Falmouth, to refit; which, having expeditiously performed, he again put to sea, the 13th of December following.† On the 25th of the same month, he fell in with the coast of Barbary; and, on the 29th, with Cape Verd; the 13th of March he passed the equinoctial; the 5th of April he made the coast of Brazil in 30 N. Lat. and entered the river de la Plata, where he lost the company of two of his ships; but, meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the provisions they had on board, he turned them a-drift. On the 29th of May he entered the port of St. Julian's, where he did the least commendable action of his life, in beheading, July 2, 1578, Mr. John Doughty, a man next in authority to himself, in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice.‡

On the 20th of August he entered the Streights of Magellan; on the 25th of September he passed them,

* Camdeni Annales, p. 354. Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 730, 748. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 46.

† Camdeni Annales, p. 354. The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, London, 1652, 4to. p. 3.

‡ See the relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 733, all which is omitted in the revised account in Purchas, before referred to. See also the world encompassed by Sir F. Drake, p. 29—33.

having then only his own ship, which, in the South seas, he new-named the Hind. It may not be amiss to take notice here of a fact very little known, as appearing in no relation of this famous voyage. Sir Francis Drake himself reported to Sir Richard, son to Sir John Hawkins, that meeting with a violent tempest, in which his ship could bear no sail, he found, when the storm sunk, he was driven through or round the Streights into the latitude of 50 degrees. Here, lying close under an island, he went on shore, and, leaning his body over a promontory as far as he could safely, told his people, when he came on board, he had been farther south than any man living. This we find confirmed by one of our old chronicle writers, who farther informs us, that he bestowed on this island the name of *ELIZABETHA*, in honour of his royal mistress. On the 25th of November he came to Machao, in the latitude of 30 degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous in case his ships separated; but, Captain Winter, having repassed the Streights, was returned to England. Thence he continued his voyage along the coasts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of seizing Spanish ships, or of landing and attacking them on shore, till his crew were sated with plunder; and, then coasting North-America to the height of 48 degrees, he endeavoured to find a passage back into our seas on that side, which is the strongest proof of his consummate skill, and invincible courage; for, if ever such a passage be found to the northward, this, in all probability, will be the method; and, we can scarce conceive a clearer testimony of an undaunted spirit, than attempting discoveries after so long, so hazardous, and so fatiguing a voyage.* Here, being disappointed of what he sought, he landed, and called the country New Albion,

* Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 400. See also some remarks on this passage in *Dampier's Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 101, edit. 1729. Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 1568. Sir Richard Hawkins's *Observations*, &c. p. 95.

taking possession of it in the name, and for the use of Queen Elizabeth; and, having trimmed his ship, set sail from thence, on the 29th of September, 1579, for the Moluccas.

The reason of Captain Drake's chusing this passage round, rather than returning by the Streights of Magellan, was partly the danger of being attacked at a great disadvantage by the Spaniards, and partly the lateness of the season, whence dangerous storms and hurricanes were to be apprehended. * On the 13th of October, he fell in with certain islands, inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the 4th of November, he had sight of the Moluccas, and coming to Ternate, was extremely well received by the king thereof; who appears, from the most authentic relations of this voyage, to have been a wise and polite prince. On the 10th of December, he made Celebes, where his ship unfortunately ran on a rock the 9th of January following; whence, beyond all expectation, and in a manner, miraculously, they got off, and continued their course. On the 16th of March, he arrived at Java Major; thence he intended to have proceeded for Malacca, but found himself obliged to alter his purpose, and think of returning directly home. †

On the 25th of March, 1580, he put this design in execution, and on the 15th of June, he doubled the Cape of Good-Hope, having then on board his ship, fifty-seven men, and but three casks of water. On the 12th of July, he passed the line, reached the coast of Guinea on the 16th, and there watered. On the 11th of September, he

* See all the relations before cited, for the confirmation of this circumstance; but perhaps Captain Drake might be deterred by the confident, though false report of the Spaniards, that the Straits could not be repassed.

† Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 742. Camdeni Annales, p. 368. Holingshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1568.

made the island of Tercera, and on the 25th of the same month, entered the harbour of Plymouth. It is not a little strange there should be such variation as we find amongst the best writers, and those too his contemporaries, as to the day of his arrival. Sir William Monson fixes the 25th of September. Holingshed says the 26th. In Mr. Hakluyt's relation, it is the 3d of November, which is followed by Camden and many others. But Stowe, and several that might be mentioned, content themselves with saying, he returned towards the close of the year; by which it is evident, that, at this distance, the exact time of his coming cannot be certainly determined.

In this voyage he completely surrounded the globe, which no commander in chief had ever done before. * His success in this enterprise, and the immense mass of wealth he brought home, raised much discourse throughout the kingdom; some highly commending, and some as loudly decrying him. The former alledged, that his exploit was not only honourable to himself, but to his country; that it would establish our reputation for maritime skill amongst foreign nations, and raise a useful spirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our merchants having suffered deeply from the faithless practices of the Spaniards, there was nothing more just than that the nation should receive the benefit of Drake's reprisals. The other party alledged, that in fact, he was no better than a pirate; that, of all others, it least became a trading nation to encourage such practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with Spain, but likewise of our old leagues with the house of Burgundy; and that the consequences of owning his proceeding, would be much more fatal than the benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 742. Purchas, vol. i. p. 46—57. The World Encompassed, &c. p. 108. Speed, p. 352.

in this uncertainty during the remainder of that, and the spring of the succeeding year.

At length, they took a better turn; for on the 4th of April, 1581, her majesty dining at Deptford in Kent, went on board Captain Drake's ship, where she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her absolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confusion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends. * She likewise gave directions for the preservation of his ship, that it might remain a monument of his own, and his country's glory. In process of time, the vessel decaying, it was broken up; but a chair made of the planks, was presented to the University of Oxford, and is still preserved. †

In 1585, he concerted a scheme of a West-Indian expedition with the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney. It was to be partly maritime, and partly in the style of invasion. The sea force was to be commanded absolutely by Sir Francis, the land troops by Sir Philip Sidney. The queen having required the latter to desist from his scheme, he sailed, notwithstanding, to the West Indies, having under his command, Captain Christopher Carlisle, Captain Martin Frobisher, Captain Francis Knollys, and many other officers of great reputation. In that expedition, he took the cities of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine, exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were sanguine to the last degree. ‡ Yet the profits

* Camdeni Annales, p. 359. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 400. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Holingshed, Speed.

† See Mr. Cowley's Poems, edit. 1680, p. 8, 42. A certain knight proposed to place it upon the top of St. Paul's.

‡ A Summary and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage, accompanied with Christopher Carlisle, Martin Frobisher, Francis Knollys, with many other captains and gentlemen, wherein were taken, the towns of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine; London, 1652, 4to.

of this expedition were but moderate; the design of Sir Francis being rather to weaken the enemy, than to enrich himself. * It was, to do him justice, a maxim from which he never varied, to regard the service of his country first, next the profit of his proprietors, and his own interest (of which, however, he was far from being careless) he regarded last. Hence, though rich in wealth, he was richer still in reputation.

In 1578, he proceeded to Lisbon with a fleet of thirty sail, and having intelligence of a numerous fleet assembled in the bay of Cadiz, which was to have made part of the armada; he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thousand tons of shipping; and after having performed all the service that the state could expect, he resolved to do his utmost to content the merchants of London, who had contributed, by a voluntary subscription, to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large carrack expected at Tercera from the East Indies, thither he sailed; and though his men were severely pinched through want of victuals, yet by fair words and large promises, he prevailed upon them to endure these hardships for a few days. Within this space the East India ship arrived, which he took and carried home in triumph; so that throughout the whole war, there was no expedition so happily conducted as this, with respect to reputation or profit; † and therefore we need not wonder, that upon his return, the mighty applause he received might render him somewhat elate, as his enemies report it did; but

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 543. Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 169. Camden, p. 353. Stowe, p. 709.

† See an original letter of Sir Francis Drake, dated the 27th of April, 1587, to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, acquainting him with his success at Cadiz, in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 451. Camden, p. 551. Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 170. Risdon's Survey of Devon, vol. iii. p. 361.

certain it is, that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, since it always vented itself in service to the public.

Thus, at this time, he undertook to bring water into the town of Plymouth; through the want of which, till then, it had been grievously distressed; and he performed it by conducting thither a stream from springs at eight miles distance, that is to say, in a straight line; for in the manner by which he brought it, the course it runs is upwards of twenty miles. * It was in consequence of the journals, charts, and papers, taken on board his East India prize, that it was judged practicable for us to enter into that trade: for promoting which, the queen, by letters patent, in the forty-third year of her reign, erected our first India company. To this, we may also add, he first brought in tobacco, the use of which was much promoted by the practice of Sir Walter Raleigh. How much this nation has gained by these branches of commerce, of which he was properly the author, I leave to the intelligent reader's consideration. †

In 1588, Sir Francis Drake was appointed vice-admiral, under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England; here his fortune favoured him as remarkable as ever; for he made prize of a large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this vessel, fifty thousand ducats were distributed among the seamen and soldiers, which preserved that love they had always borne to this their valiant commander. It must not, however, be dissembled, that through an oversight of his, the admiral ran the utmost hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake being appointed, the first night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the English fleet, he

* Westcot's Survey of Devonshire, MS. Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Risdon's Survey of Devon, vol. i. p. 69, 70.

† Camdeni Annales, p. 445, 551. R. Johnstoni rerum Britannicarum, Hist. lib. iv. p. 126. Winstanley's British Worthies, p. 211.

being in full pursuit of some hulks belonging to the Hanse-towns, neglected it; which occasioned the admiral's following the Spanish lights, and remaining almost in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, his succeeding services sufficiently effaced the memory of this mistake; the greatest execution done on the flying Spaniards, being performed by that squadron under his command. *

The next year, he was employed as admiral at sea, over the fleet sent to restore Don Antonio, king of Portugal; the command of the land forces being given to Sir John Norris. They were hardly got out to sea before these commanders differed; though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an admiral better disposed, with respect to soldiers, than Sir Francis Drake. The ground of their difference was this; the general was bent on landing at the Groyne, whereas, Sir Francis and the sea-officers, were for sailing to Lisbon directly; in which, if their advice had been taken, without question, their enterprize would have succeeded, and Don Antonio had been restored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading Portugal, that the enemy had made use of the time they gave them, to so good purpose, that it was not possible to make any impression. Sir John Norris, indeed, marched by land to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake, very imprudently, promised to sail up the river with his whole fleet; but, when he saw the consequences which would have attended the keeping of his word, he chose rather to break his promise than to hazard the queen's navy; for which he was grievously reproached by Norris, and the miscarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken. Yet Sir Francis fully justified himself on his return; for he made

* Camdeni Annales, p. 565, 573. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 602. Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe, p. 747. Speed, p. 360. Strype's Annals, vol. iii.

it manifest to the queen and council, that all the service that was done, was performed by him, and that his sailing up the river of Lisbon, would have signified nothing to the taking the castle, which was two miles off; and, without reducing that, there was no taking the town. *

His next service, was the fatal undertaking in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, in 1594, for the destroying Nombre de Dios, of which I have already given an account, to the death of the last mentioned commander; which, as we have shewn, was the day before Sir Francis made his desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto-Rico. This was performed, with all the courage imaginable, on the 13th of November, 1595, and attended with great loss to the Spaniards, yet with very little advantage to the English; who, meeting with a more resolute resistance and much better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to sheer off. The admiral then steered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hacha, which he burnt to the ground; a church and a single house belonging to a lady only excepted. After this, he destroyed some other villages, and then proceeded to Santa Martha, which he likewise burnt. The like fate had the famous town of Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refusing to ransom any of these places, and the booty taken in them being very inconsiderable. On the 29th of December, Sir Thomas Baskerville marched with seven hundred and fifty men towards Panama, but returned on the 2d of January, finding the design of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This disappointment made such an impression on the admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which, he died on the 28th, about four in

* Camdeni Annales, p. 601—606. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 174. Stowe's Annals, p. 755. See Captain William Fenner's relation of this MISERABLE ACTION, (as he styles it,) preserved in Dr. Birch's Memoirs of that Reign, vol. i. p. 58.

the morning; though Sir William Monson hints, that there were great doubts whether it was barely his sickness that killed him. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived about fifty years; * but his memory will survive as long as that world lasts which he first surrounded. Hitherto, we have spoken of his public actions; let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, discourse somewhat of his person and character.

He was low of stature, but well set; had a broad, open chest, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a fresh, cheerful, and very engaging countenance. † As navigation had been his whole study, so he understood it thoroughly, and was a perfect master in every branch; especially in astronomy, and in the application thereof to the nautic art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them, we need not wonder that Sir Francis Drake, who performed so many great things, should have as much ill spoken of him, as there was of any man of the age in which he lived. Those who disliked him, alledged, that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, ostentatious, self-sufficient, an immoderate speaker, and, though indisputably a good seaman, no great general; in proof of which, they took notice of his neglecting to furnish his fleet thoroughly in 1585; his not keeping either St. Domingo or Carthagena after he had taken them; the slender provision he made in his expedition to Portugal; his

* Relation of a Voyage into the West Indies, made by Sir Francis Drake, accompanied with Sir John Hawkins, Sir Thomas Baskerville, Sir Nicholas Clifford, and others, who set forth from Plymouth on the 28th of August, 1595; London, 1652, 4to. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 583. Camden, p. 700. Roberti Johnstoni rerum Britannicarum Historiæ, lib. viii. p. 208. English Hero, p. 206.

† Stowe, p. 808. Fuller's Holy State, p. 130. See the relation, &c. just cited, p. 58.

breaking his word to Sir John Norris, and the errors he committed in his last undertaking. *

In excuse of these, it is said, that the glory of what he did, might very well remove the imputation of his mean descent; what was thought haughtiness in him, might be no more than a just concern for the support of his authority; his display of his great services, a thing incident to his profession; and his love of speaking, qualified by his wisdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an ungraceful expression. In equipping his fleet, he was not so much in fault as those whom he trusted; sickness hindered his keeping the places he took in the West Indies; his councils were continually crossed by the land officers in his voyage to Portugal; and, as to his last attempt, the Spaniards were certainly well acquainted with his design, at least as soon as he left England, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an incontestible proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-sightedness, and public spirit, since, therein, he did every thing that could be expected from a man who preferred the honour and profit of his country, to his own reputation or private gain. †

The only act of his whole life that laid him open to just censure, was his severity towards Mr. John Doughty, which I have touched before, and which many reasons incline me to mention again. The cause he alledged, was Doughty's attempting to raise some disturbance in the fleet; which, they say, was partly proved from his own

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. vi. p. 1185. Stowe, p. 808. See his character, and a brief relation of some of the memorable actions of this worthy person, published in his life time, in Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1567, 1568.

† Camdeni Annales, p. 351. The World Encompassed, p. 108. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 399. English Hero, p. 206. Riadon's Survey of Devonshire, vol. ii. p. 260—262.

confession, and partly from papers found in his custody.* But in those days, it was shrewdly suspected, that Doughty was sent abroad for no other purpose than to meet with his end; and this, because he had charged the great earl of Leicester with poisoning the earl of Essex: † a fact, generally believed at that time, on account of the earl's marrying, in a short space, Lettice, countess of Essex; with whom, the world held him to be too familiar before, and this to have made that lord's death necessary.

The fullest account I know of this matter, is to be found in a poem, called *Leicester's Ghost*; wherein, there is a great deal of true, and, I doubt, not a little, false history. The stanzas relating to this matter, are as follow: ‡

I doubted, lest that Doughtie would bewray
My counsel, and with other party take;
Wherefore, the sooner him to rid away,
I sent him forth to sea with Captain Drake,
Who knew how t' entertaine him for my sake.
Before he went, his lot by me was cast;
His death was plotted, and perform'd in haste.

He hoped well; but I did so dispose,
That he, at port St. Gillian lost his head;
Having no time permitted to disclose
The inward griefs that in his heart were bred:
We need not fear the biting of the dead.
Now let him go, transported to the seas,
And tell my secrets to th' Antipodes.

Yet it may be offered in defence of Sir Francis Drake, that this man was openly put to death after as fair a trial, by a jury of twelve men, as the circumstances of time and

* This story is plainly and circumstantially told in the relation we have in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 733, and is also mentioned in Mr. Winter's Account of his Voyage, p. 752; but in the relation printed in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 46, it is slipped over in one line.

† Winstanley's English Worthies in the Life of Sir Francis Drake.

‡ P. 22, 23. This is a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1641, and most of the facts contained in it are taken from Leicester's Commonwealth, written by Father Persons, as the reader may perceive, by comparing these stanzas with what is said of Doughty's death in that book, p. 49.

place would permit; that he submitted patiently to his sentence, and received the sacrament with Drake, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Besides these, there are two points which deserve particular consideration: first, That in such expeditions strict discipline and legal severity are often absolutely necessary: secondly, That as to the earl of Essex, for whose death Doughty had expressed concern, he was Drake's first patron; and it is therefore very improbable he should destroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murder. Camden and Johnson mention the fact and the report,* but in such a manner as seems to justify Drake: and indeed, on the strictest review of the evidence, I can see no probable ground to condemn him.

It was the felicity of our admiral to live under the reign of a princess, who never failed to distinguish merit, or to bestow her favours where she saw desert. Sir Francis Drake was always her favourite, and she gave a very lucky proof of it in respect to a quarrel he had with his countryman, afterwards Sir Bernard Drake, whose arms Sir Francis had assumed; which so provoked the other, who was a seaman, and an enterprising seaman likewise, that he gave him a box on the ear. The queen took up the quarrel, and gave Sir Francis a new coat, which is thus blazoned: Sable a fess wavy between two pole-stars argent: for his crest, A ship on a globe under ruff, held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds; over it this motto, *AUXILIO DIVINO*; underneath, *SIC PARVIS MAGNA*; in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels a wivern, gules, which was the arms of Sir Bernard Drake.† Her majesty's kindness, however, did not ex-

* Camdeni Annales, vol. ii. p. 355. Johnstoni rerum Britannicarum Hist. lib. ii. p. 67. Dr. Thomas Fuller had a MS. of Mr. George Forrescue, who went the voyage with Drake; but he says nothing of Captain Doughty.

† This story is related by Prince from the mouth of Sir John Drake,

tend beyond the grave; for she suffered his brother Thomas Drake, the companion of his dangers, whom he made his heir, to be prosecuted for a pretended debt to the crown, which not a little diminished the advantages he would otherwise have reaped from his brother's succession.*

It would swell this work beyond its intended bulk, if we should enter particularly into the history of all the remarkable commanders who flourished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and therefore we shall be more concise in our accounts of such heroes as are yet to mention, and whose actions it would be, however, injurious to the reader to pass over in absolute silence.

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER, or, as in many writers he is called FORBISHER, was a native of Yorkshire, born near Doncaster, of mean parents, who bred him to the sea.† We have very little account of his junior years, or the manner in which they were spent. He distinguished himself first by undertaking the discovery of the north-west passage in 1576, and made a voyage that year, wherein though he had no success, yet it gained him great reputation. In the year 1577, he undertook a second expedition, and in 1578, a third, in all which he gave the highest proofs of his courage and conduct in providing for the safety of his men, and yet pushing the discovery he went upon as far as it was possible;‡ so that, notwithstanding his disappointment, he still preserved his credit, and this in spite of a little accident, which would certainly have overturned the good opinion

Bart. a direct descendant from Sir Bernard. The glory of generosity by John Ferne; London, 1586, 4to. p. 144, 145.

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 400.

† Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

‡ A very full account of his voyages above mentioned may be found in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 29—46.

entertained of a less esteemed commander. He brought from the straits, which he discovered, and which are still known by his name, a large quantity of black, soft stone, full of yellow shining grains, which he supposed to be gold ore; but after numberless trials it was reported to be worth nothing, and so thrown away.* On this occasion I cannot help taking notice of an accident of the like nature which happened to the mate of a vessel belonging to the Greenland company, sent to make discoveries to the north-west. He brought home likewise a quantity of shining sand, which he apprehended contained gold, but upon trial it was judged to be of no value, and the ill usage, which on account of this supposed mistake the poor man met with, broke his heart. Many years afterwards the chancellor of Denmark shewed a small parcel of this kind of sand from Norway to an intelligent chymist, (the rest by his express orders having been all thrown into the sea;) and this extracted a quantity of pure gold out of that sand,† in which also the Copenhagen artist could find none.

But to return to Frobisher: he commanded her majesty's ship the *Triumph* in the famous sea-fight with the Spanish armada, and therein did such excellent service, that he was among the number of the few knights made by the lord high-admiral on that signal occasion.‡ In 1590, he commanded a squadron on the coast of Spain, which hindered the coming home of the Plate-fleet.§ In 1592, Sir Martin Frobisher took the charge of a fleet fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, which went to the coast of Spain;

* Stowe's Annals, p. 680, 681, 685. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1262, 1270, 1271. Speed, p. 852.

† La Peyrere, relation du Groenland, a M. la Mothe le Vayer, p. 67. Churchill's Voyages, (where this is translated,) vol. i. p. 558. Egede's Natural History of Greenland, chap. ii. p. 27, 32. chap. iii. p. 47, 48, 49.

§ Camdeni Annales, p. 576.

|| Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

and though he had but three ships, yet he made a shift to burn one rich galleon and bring home another. * In 1594, he sailed to the coast of France, to assist in re-taking Brest; which was regularly attacked on the land-side by Sir John Norris, with three thousand English forces, at the same time that our admiral blocked up the port. The garrison defended themselves bravely, till such time as Sir Martin landed his sailors; and, desperately storming the place, carried it at once, but with the loss of several captains, Sir Martin himself receiving a shot in his side; and this, through want of skill in his surgeon, proved the cause of his death, which happened at Plymouth within a few days after his return.† He was one of the most able seamen of his time; of undaunted courage, great presence of mind, and equal to almost any undertaking; yet in his carriage blunt, and a very strict observer of discipline, even to a degree of severity, which hindered his being beloved.‡

THOMAS CAVENDISH, of Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, Esq. was a gentleman (in my conception) of the original house of that great name, though most writers say, descended from a noble family of the same name in Devonshire, but certainly possessed of a very plentiful estate; which he, being a man of wit and great good humour, hurt pretty deeply by his expenses at court. Upon this he took it in his head to repair his shattered fortunes (according to the mode of those times) at the expence of the Spaniards. §

* Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 63—65.

† Camdeni Annales, p. 680. Stowe, p. 809. Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 203.

‡ Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 182. R. Johnstoni rerum Britannicarum Hist. p. 203. The memorable service of Sir John Norris at Brest in Bretagne, by Thomas Churchyard, London, 1602, 4to. p. 135—141. Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 202, 203.

§ Camdeni Annales, p. 552. Stowe's Annales, p. 808. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 401.

With this view he built two ships from the stocks, one of a hundred and twenty, the other of threescore tons; and with these, and a bark of forty tons, he sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586. He first made the coast of Barbary, then steered for Brazil, and entered the Streights of Magellan the 5th of January, 1587, and passed them very happily; then, coasting along Chili and Peru, he took abundance of rich prizes; continuing his course as high as California, he there took the *St. Anne*, which Mr. Cavendish, in a letter to my Lord Hunsdon, rightly calls an *Acapulco* ship, though in most of the relations of his voyage she is styled the *Admiral of the South seas*. Her cargo was of immense value, which his ships being too small to carry, he was forced to burn, taking out of her, however, as much gold as was worth sixty thousand pounds. He then steered for the *Philippine* islands, where he safely arrived, and proceeded from them to *Java Major*, which he reached the first of March, 1588. He doubled the *Cape of Good Hope* the first of June, and so without any remarkable accident returned safe to Plymouth the ninth of September in the same year, having sailed completely round the globe, and brought home what was in that age considered as an amazing fortune.*

This, however, as his patrimony before, he quickly wasted; and, in the year 1591, was compelled to think of another voyage, which was far from being so successful as the former. He left Plymouth the 26th of August, 1591, with three stout ships and two barks. On the eighth of April, 1592, he fell in with the Streights of Magellan, and continued in them to the fifteenth of May; when, on account of the badness of the weather, he determined to return, which accordingly he did to the coast of Brazil,

* Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 803. Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 57. Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 401. *Camdeni Annales*, p. 552, where he refers his reader to Hakluyt. Roberti *Johnstoni rerum Britannicarum Hist.* lib. iv. p. 126.

and there died of grief. One of his ships, the *Desire*, under the command of Mr. John Davis, actually passed the Streights.*

ANOTHER great adventurer by sea, was Mr. EDWARD FENTON, a gentleman who distinguished himself by several gallant exploits in this active and busy reign. He was descended from a very worthy family in Nottinghamshire,† in which county he possessed a small estate, of which himself and his younger brother disposed, inclining rather to trust to their own abilities than to that slender provision, which devolved to them by descent from their ancestors; and they are among the very few of those who did not live afterwards to repent so extraordinary a procedure. Being naturally inclined to a military life, he courted the favour of Robert earl of Leicester,‡ and his brother Ambrose, earl of Warwick, and was so happy as to obtain their protection and countenance. In 1577, he engaged with Sir Martin Frobisher,§ in his design of discovering a north-west passage into the South seas, having before served some time in Ireland with reputation. In this expedition he was captain of the *Gabriel*, a little bark of twenty-five tons, and accompanied that famous seaman in his voyage to the Streights, (which bear his name,) in the summer of this year, though, in their return, he was unluckily separated from him in a storm; notwithstanding which he had the good fortune to arrive in safety at Bristol.

In 1578, he commanded the *Judith*, one of the fifteen sail of which Sir Martin's squadron was composed, in a

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 842. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1182.

† Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire, p. 415. Fuller's Worthies in that county, p. 318.

‡ See the instructions given him, on undertaking his last voyage, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 755.

§ Stowe's Annals, p. 681.

third expedition* set on foot for the like purpose, with the title of rear-admiral; sailing from Harwich on the 31st of May, and returning to England the 1st of October following. This, like the two former attempts, proved wholly unsuccessful: Captain Fenton, however, remained firmly persuaded that such a design was certainly practicable, and was continually suggesting of what prodigious importance the discovery of a passage to the north-west must be to the commerce and navigation of this kingdom; and which might, notwithstanding the repeated disappointments it had been hitherto attended with, be again resumed with the highest probability of success. His frequent solicitations on this head, joined to the powerful interest of the earl of Leicester, at length procured him another opportunity of trying his fortune, and that in a way, and with such a force, as could not fail of gratifying his ambition to the utmost.

Of this voyage, which was chiefly set forth at the expense of the earl of Cumberland, we have several authentic accounts, and yet it is not easy to apprehend the true design of it. The instructions given by the privy-council to Mr. Fenton, and which are still preserved, say expressly, that he should endeavour the discovery of a north-west passage, but by a new route, which is laid down to him; viz. he was to go by the Cape of Good Hope to the East-Indies, and being arrived at the Moluccas, he was to go from thence to the South seas, and to attempt his return by the so-long-sought north-west passage, and not by any means to think of passing the Streights of Magellan, except in case of absolute necessity.† Notwithstanding these instructions, Sir William Monson tells us plainly, that Mr. Fenton was sent to try his fortune in the South seas;‡ and so, most

* Holingshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1271.

† Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 764.

‡ Naval Tracts, p. 402.

certainly, himself understood it. In the month of May, 1582, Mr. Fenton left the English coast, with three stout ships and a bark. With these he sailed, first to the coast of Africa, and then for that of Brazil directly, from whence he intended to have sailed for the Streights of Magellan; but hearing there that the king of Spain, who had better intelligence, it seems, of his project, and of his real intentions, than he would have obtained if he had read his instructions, had sent Don Diego Florez de Valdez with a strong fleet into the Streights to intercept him, he, upon mature deliberation, resolved to return. Putting into a Portuguese settlement to refit, he there met with three of the Spanish squadron, one of which was their vice-admiral, which he sunk, after a very brisk engagement, and then put to sea, in order to come home. His vice-admiral, Captain Luke Ward, after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived safely in England, on the 31st of May, 1583.*

Captain Fenton likewise returned safely to England, and, for any thing that appears, preserved his credit, though he had the mortification not to accomplish his purpose; and this is the more probable, as we find him again at sea in 1588, and entrusted with the command of one of the queen's ships, the *Antelope*, as some† write, though others‡ make him captain of the *Mary Rose*; whichever ship it was, he is allowed on all hands to have behaved with a becoming spirit,§ and to have given very singular marks of courage in that famous action. He passed the latter part of his life at or near Deptford,

* We have an account of this voyage, written by this Captain Luke Ward, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 757. Sir Richard Hawkins, in his observations, sec. xxxv. p. 85. See also Dr. Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 38.

† Stowe, *Strype*. ‡ Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 171.

§ Camden, tom. ii. p. 574. Ubaldino's *Discourse of the Spanish fleet invading England*, p. 26, 27. Bishop Carleton's *Remembrancer*, p. 154.

deceasing in the spring of the year 1603, and lies buried in the parish church of that place, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory by the great earl of Corke, who married his niece, with a very elegant inscription thereon. *

Notwithstanding the disappointment which this gentleman met with, fresh attempts were made for the discovery of this so much desired passage to the north-west; in which Captain John Davis, a most knowing and active seaman, was employed. The first was in 1585; a second time he sailed in 1586; but in both voyages achieved nothing beyond raising his own reputation, which continued to be very great for upwards of thirty years. † Sir William Monson tells us, that he conferred with this Mr. Davis, as well as Sir Martin Frobisher, on this subject, and that they were able to give him no more assurance than those who had never gone so far; though he confesses, they did offer him (which was all he could expect) some very plausible reasons to prove, that such a passage there was. In his discourse on this subject, he labours hard to represent the undertaking as, in its nature, impracticable; but, admitting it were not so, he pretends to shew, that no such mighty advantages as are expected could be reaped from this discovery. He concludes his discourse with hinting, that a more profitable, and at the same time a more probable attempt, might be made by sailing due north directly under the pole, which he supposes would render the passage between us and China no more than fifteen hundred leagues. ‡

* See the inscription at large in Fuller, in which he is said to have been esquire of the body to Queen Elizabeth.

† We have an account of all the voyages in Hakluyt, as also of a voyage of his to the East Indies, in 1604. Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 132.

‡ Naval Tracts, p. 426.

AMONGST the naval heroes of this glorious reign, we must not forget GEORGE CLIFFORD, earl of Cumberland, who undertook many expeditions, both in Europe and the West Indies, at his own expense, and in several hazarded his person, merely to serve his queen and country, and thereby acquire a just right to fame. In some of those voyages Sir William Monson assisted, and has left us accounts of them, and of the rest we have many relations extant. It does not appear, however, that the earl added any thing to his private fortune, by these testimonies of his public spirit; and therefore, the queen, to shew how just a sense she had of his zeal and resolution, honoured him, in the year 1592, with a garter, which, in her reign, was never bestowed till it had been deserved by signal services to the public. This noble peer survived the queen, and was in great favour, and in very high esteem with her successor. He deceased in 1605, and was the last heir male of his noble family.*

SIR ROBERT DUDLEY, son to the great earl of Leicester, by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham, distinguished himself by his application to maritime affairs, by his great skill in them, and by his known encouragement to eminent seamen, as well as by his personal exploits, which were such as deserve to be remembered. He was born at Sheen in Surry, in 1573,† and having received the first tincture of letters from one Mr. Owen Jones, at Offington, in Sussex, to whose care and diligence, in that respect, he had been committed by his father;‡ he was sent to Oxford in 1587, and entered of Christ Church, being recommended to the inspection of Mr. Chaloner, afterwards the learned Sir Thomas Chaloner, and tutor to

* Camden, Stowe, Speed, Holingshed.

† Hist. Antiq. Univers. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 275.

‡ Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, edit. 1656, p. 167.

Prince Henry, under whom he profited so well in his studies, as to raise the highest expectations, and which he lived abundantly to fulfil. By the demise of his father, who breathed his last, September 4th, 1588,* at his house at Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, Sir Robert became entitled, on the death of his uncle Ambrose, earl of Warwick, to the princely castle of Kenilworth in Warwickshire, and other large estates.† He was considered, at this time, as one of the most accomplished young gentlemen in the kingdom, having a very agreeable person, tall, finely shaped, an admirable complexion, his hair inclining to red; a very graceful air, and learned beyond his years, particularly in the mathematics; very expert in his exercises, such as tilting, riding the great horse, and other manly feats, in which he is reported to have excelled most of his rank.‡ Having, from his earliest youth, a particular turn to navigation, he took a resolution, when he was scarce two and twenty years of age, of making a voyage into the South seas, for which great preparations were made; but, before he could put it in execution, the queen and her ministers interposing, the project was dropped.§

In 1594, he fitted out a squadron of four sail, at his own expense; and leaving Southampton on the sixth of November, proceeded for the coast of Spain, where he lost the company of the other three ships. This, however, did not hinder him from continuing his voyage to the West Indies; and, in doing this, he took two large

* The celebrated Lord Burleigh's Diary of the Queen's Reign, in Murdin's Collection of State Papers, p. 788. Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

† See the last will of Robert earl of Leicester, in Mr. Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys prefixed to the first volume of the Sidney Papers, p. 70.

‡ Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 127.

§ See the Introduction to his Voyage to the Island of Trinidad, written by himself, at the request of Mr. Richard Hakluyt.

ships, though of no great value. After remaining some time about the island of Trinidad, he found himself under a necessity of returning home, in a much worse condition than he went out; and yet, coming up, in his passage, with a Spanish ship of six hundred tons, his own vessel being of no greater burden than two hundred, he engaged her, fought two whole days, till his powder was quite exhausted, and then left her; but in so torn and shattered a condition, that she afterwards sunk. This made the ninth ship which he had either taken, sunk, or burnt, in his voyage.*

He accompanied the earl of Essex and the lord high-admiral Howard in the beginning of June 1596, in the famous expedition to Cadiz, and received the honour of knighthood on the 8th of August following, for the signal services he there performed.† Endeavouring some years after to prove the legitimacy of his birth, he met with so many obstacles in his attempt, that, conceiving himself highly injured thereby, he determined to quit England,‡ and, embarking for Italy, fixed upon Florence for the place of his retreat, where he met with a most distinguished reception from the then reigning grand duke of Tuscany, and the Archduchess Magdalen of Austria, sister to the Emperor Ferdinand II.§

In this his delightful retirement he became so much admired, and gave such shining proofs of his great abilities, particularly in devising several methods for the improvement of shipping, introducing various manufactures, instructing the natives how to enlarge their foreign commerce, and other affairs of like consequence, that the emperor, at the request of the archduchess, to whom Sir Robert had some time before been appointed

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 574. † Stowe's Annals, p. 771. Speed, p. 369.

‡ Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, p. 166.

§ Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 127.

great chamberlain, was pleased by letters-patent, bearing date at Vienna, March 9, 1620, to create him a duke and count of the empire, by the title of duke of Northumberland and earl of Warwick;* and in 1630 he was by his holiness Pope Urban VIII. enrolled among the nobility of Rome.† It was during his residence in this country, that he formed his great design of making Leghorn a free port, which has been of such prodigious importance to the dukes of Tuscany ever since.‡ In acknowledgment of such infinite merit the grand duke assigned him a very liberal pension, made him a present of the castle of Carbello, a most magnificent villa, three miles from Florence, which he so adorned and beautified as to render it one of the fairest and finest palaces in Italy, and in which he paid his last debt to nature in the month of September, 1649, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having acquired a very extensive reputation in the republic of letters by his learned writings, more especially from the following curious work, which is exceeding rare, and of which there are very few copies in this kingdom.§

The title runs thus: “*Arcano del mare di D. Ruberto Dudleo duca di Northumbria, e conte di Warvich. Diviso in libri sei. Nel primo de quali si tratta della longitudine practicabile in diversi modi, d’invenzione dell’ autore. Nel secondo, delle carte sue generali e de portolani rettificati in longitudine, e latitudine nel Terzo, della disciplina sua marittima e militare. Nel*

* The letters-patent at large, under the golden seal of the empire, are prefixed to the first volume of that elaborate performance mentioned in the text.

† Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 127.

‡ Fuller’s Worthies in Surrey, p. 84. Bishop Burnet’s Travels through Switzerland, letter v. Lloyd’s State Worthies, p. 761.

§ Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 128. The copy at Oxford, Anthony Wood says, is kept as a rarity in the archives of the Bodleian library.

“quarto, dell’ architettura sua nautica di vascelli da guerra. Nel quinta, della navigazione scientifica, e perfetta, cive spirale, o di gran Circoli. Nel sesto, delle carte sue geografiche e particolari. Impressione seconda. Corretta et accresciuta, secondo l’originale del medesimo excellentiss. Signor Duca, che si conserva nella libreria del convento di Firenze della Pace, de monaci di S. Bernardo dell’ ordine Fuliense. Con l’Indice de capitoli, e delle figure, et istruzione a librai per legarle. Al serenissimo Ferdinando Secondo granduca di Toscana. In Fiorenza, 1661-2, tom. fol.”

It is elegantly printed on very large imperial paper, enriched with upwards of six hundred fine plates, consisting of maps, charts, plans, and other authentic testimonies of the excellent genius of its illustrious author, admirably engraved. The chapters to the first five books, which compose the first volume, as well as those of the sixth, which comprehend the second, are again subdivided into several sections, and make in the whole 143 pages. Immediately after the title-page to the first volume, appears a general index to the first five books; next the letters-patent of Ferdinand II. then a short advertisement by the editor, addressed to the learned reader, setting forth the many advantages of this edition, with a brief index to the whole six books, which is followed by a proemial discourse or preface on the mathematical science as far as relates to his subject, intended as an introduction to his great work, by the duke of Northumberland. The first edition appeared in 1630 and 1646, the two volumes coming out at different periods. *

SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, son to the famous Sir John Hawkins, of whom we have before briefly spoken, was

* There is a copy (presented by Sir R. Moray) in the library of the royal society.

born at Plymouth in Devonshire; and, as he was little inferior to his father in skill or courage, he resembled him also but too much in his misfortunes.* In 1593, he fitted out two large ships and a pinnace at his own expense, and had the queen's commission, empowering him to infest the Spaniards in South-America. His expedition was unlucky from his very first setting out; and yet, notwithstanding a number of untoward accidents, he resolutely persisted in his design of passing the Streights of Magellan, and surrounding the globe, as Drake and Cavendish had done. He shared, however, in none of their success, though he met with most of their difficulties. One Captain Tharlton, who had been very culpable in distressing Mr. Cavendish in his last voyage, was guilty of the like baseness towards Sir Richard Hawkins; for, though he knew his pinnace was burnt, he deserted him at the river of Plate, and returned home, leaving Sir Richard to pursue his voyage through the Streights of Magellan with one ship only, which, with equal prudence and resolution, he performed in the spring of the year 1594; and, entering into the south-seas, took several prizes, one of which was of considerable value. On the coasts of Peru he was attacked by Don Bertrand de Castro, who had with him a squadron of eight sail, and two thousand choice men on board; yet Hawkins made a shift to disengage himself, after he had done the Spaniards incredible damage: but staying too long in the South-seas, in order to take more prizes, he was attacked a second time by Admiral de Castro, who was now stronger than before; yet Hawkins defended himself gallantly, for three days and three nights, and then, most of his men being killed, his ship in a manner sinking under him, and himself dangerously wounded, he was prevailed

* Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

on to surrender upon very honourable terms, viz. that himself and all on board should have a free passage to England as soon as might be.

After he was in the enemies hands, Don Bertrand de Castro shewed him a letter from the king of Spain to the viceroy of Peru, wherein was contained a very exact account of Hawkins's expedition, the number of his ships, their burden, men, guns, ammunition, &c. which demonstrated how close a correspondence his Catholic majesty entertained with some who were too well acquainted with Queen Elizabeth's counsels.* He continued a long time prisoner in America, where he was treated with great humanity by Admiral de Castro; but in the end, by order of the court of Spain, he was sent thither, instead of returning to England, and remained for several years a prisoner in Seville and Madrid. At length he was released, and returned to his native country, where he spent the latter part of his life in peace, leaving behind him a large account of his adventures to the time of his being taken by the Spaniards,† and intended to have written a second part, in which he was prevented by a sudden death; for, having some business which called him to attend the privy-council, he was struck with an apoplexy in one of the outer rooms. Mr. Westcott, speaking of this accident, says very justly of this gentleman and his father,‡ “That if fortune had been as propitious to them both, as they were eminent for virtue, valour,

* Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, p. 122, 143, 154, 169.

† This book was put to the press in his life-time, but was published by a friend, after his decease, in 1562, in folio, under the title of “The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, knight, in his Voyage to the South-Sea, A. D. 1593, printed for John Jaggard at the hand “and star in Fleet-street.” See also Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1367, and Captain Ellis's Account, p. 1415.

‡ Description of Devonshire, Art. Plymouth, MS.

“and knowledge, they might have vied with the heroes
“of any age.” Some of his descendants are still remaining in Devonshire, but in an obscure condition.*

CAPTAIN JAMES (by many called JOHN) LANCASTER was fitted out by some merchants of London to cruize on the coast of Brazil, then in the hands of the Spaniards. He sailed from Dartmouth the 30th of November, 1594, with three ships, one of one hundred and forty, another of one hundred and seventy, and the third of sixty tons: on board these were two hundred and seventy-five men and boys. In the space of a few weeks they took thirty-nine Spanish ships, four of which they kept, and plundered the rest; and then, joining with Captain Venner at the isle of May, they steered for the coast of Brazil, where they took the city of Fernambuco, on the 20th of March, 1595, in a manner scarce to be paralleled in history; for Captain Lancaster ordered his fine new pinnace, in which he landed his men, to be beat to pieces on the shore, and sunk his boats, that his men might see, they must either die or conquer; the sight of which so frightened the Spaniards and Portuguese that, after a very poor defence, they abandoned the lower town. This the English held for thirty days, in which space they were attacked eleven times by the enemy.† The spoil was exceeding rich, and amounted to so great a quantity, that Captain Lancaster hired three sail of large Dutch ships, and four Frenchmen to carry it home; and, having thus increased his fleet to fifteen ships, he brought them safely into the Downs in the month of July, 1595. This was the most lucrative adventure, on a private account, throughout the whole war; and the courage and conduct of the com-

* Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

† Camdeni Annales, p. 683.

mander appears so conspicuously therein, that he deserves to be ever remembered with honour,* even supposing he had performed nothing more. But it appears from several circumstances in the relations, that he was the same who opened the trade to the Indies.

We have already taken notice of the patent granted to the East India Company by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1600. Their first stock consisted of seventy-two thousand pounds; and the first fleet they fitted out as a company, consisted of four large ships, which sailed from London, February 13, 1600, under the command of this Mr. James Lancaster, who was afterwards knighted, and who performed his voyage to Achen very successfully, and established the English trade throughout the Indies, as happily and prudently as could be wished. In his return, his ship, which was the *Dragon*, was in the utmost peril off the Cape of Good Hope, having lost her rudder, and being otherwise much damaged; yet he refused to go on board the *Hector*, contenting himself with writing a short letter to the Company, wherein he told them, they might be sure he would do his utmost to save the ship and cargo, by thus venturing his own life and the lives of those who were with him, adding this remarkable post-script, in the midst of his confusion :

“ The passage to the East Indies lies in 62 degrees 30 minutes, by the north-west, on the America side.”

He had, however, the good fortune to get into the port of St. Helena, where he repaired his weather-beaten ship as well as he could, brought her safely into the Downs, the 11th of September, 1603, and lived near thirty years afterwards, in an honourable affluence, acquired chiefly by this successful voyage. †

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 708.

† Camdeni Annales, p. 639. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 147.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM PARKER, of Plymouth, was fitted out by certain merchants, to cruize on the Spaniards in the West Indies, in 1601. His whole strength consisted of two ships, one of one hundred and thirty, and the other of sixty tons, with about two hundred and twenty men.* He sailed in the month of November, reduced St. Vincent, one of the Cape de Verd islands; then, steering for the coast of America, he took the town of La Rancheria, in the island of Cubagua, where the pearl fishery is, and plundered it. He proceeded next to Porto Bello, which was then a very strong, well-built town; entering the port by moon-light, he passed without resistance, and attacked the place by surprize.† The governor, Don Pedro Melendez, made a gallant defence in the king's treasury, to which he retreated; but at length, that too was carried by assault, and the governor taken. The booty was far from being considerable, and the best part of it Captain Parker distributed amongst his men. Notwithstanding this disappointment, our hero behaved most generously towards the enemy; he set Don Pedro at liberty, out of respect to his courage; he spared the place, because it was well built, and burning it could do him no good; he set his prisoners at large, because the money was really gone, and they had not wherewith to pay their ransom. Having done all this, he passed the forts at the mouth of the harbour, by the fire of which the Spaniards supposed they should infallibly have sunk his vessels, and returned with immortal glory, to Plymouth sound, the 6th of May, 1602.‡ The Spaniards themselves mention his behaviour with honour and applause.

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 747.

† See the Captain's relation in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1243.

‡ Life of Captain Parker, in a Supplement to Prince's Worthies of Devon.

THESE are the principal naval heroes who flourished in that glorious reign, wherein the foundation was strongly laid of the prodigious maritime power, and extensive commerce, which the English nation have since enjoyed. I shall conclude with wishing, that the same generous spirit may again arise with a force that may excite us to emulate the wisdom, courage, industry, and zeal for the public good, which animated our ancestors, and enabled them to surmount all difficulties, and to spread the reputation of their arms and virtues through the whole habitable world.

CHAP. I.

The Naval History of Great Britain under the Reign of King James I. including also an Account of the Progress of our Trade, and the Growth of our Plantations; together with Memoirs of the most eminent Seamen who flourished in that space of time.

A. D.
1603.

THERE were many accidents that contributed to the peaceable accession of the king of Scots to the English throne, notwithstanding what had happened to his mother, and the known aversion of the nation to the dominion of strangers. * On the one hand, the famous Secretary Cecil, and all his friends, who were in the principal posts of the government, had been for a long time secretly in King James's interest; though, to avoid the suspicion of their mistress, they had sometimes pretended an inclination to the infanta's title; † which I suspect to have been the cause why some persons of great quality, who sided with the Cecils against Essex, came afterwards to fall into intrigues with the court of Spain. On the other hand, the potent family of the Howards, with all such of the nobility and gentry as were inclined to the old religion, had an unfeigned affection for the king of Scots. The bulk of the people too were inclined to wish him for their king, out of respect for the memory of Essex, who was held to be his martyr, as well as out of dislike to some of Queen Elizabeth's ministry, who they believed would be instantly

* Johnstoni Historiarum rerum Britannicarum, lib. x. p. 358. Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, b. vi. p. 471. Stowe's Chronicle, continued by Howes, p. 812, 817. Earl of Monmouth's Memoirs, p. 175, 185. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 912.

† State Trials, vol. i. p. 205. The earl of Essex on his trial, affirmed, that Sir Robert Cecil (afterwards earl of Salisbury,) had declared, no body but the infanta had a title to the crown of England.

discarded, when he should be once seated on the throne. Yet there wanted not many powerful, though few open enemies to this succession, both abroad and at home. The Spaniards had views for themselves; * the French king had an aversion mixed with contempt for King James; and the Pope had many projects for restoring his power here, by bringing in some prince of his own religion. † There were, besides, some English pretenders, viz. such as claimed under the house of Suffolk, and had been competitors against Queen Mary; ‡ and some again, as the Bassets, who affected to derive themselves from the house of Plantagenet; § so that no small precaution was necessary to prevent any disturbance on the death of Elizabeth, or opposition to the design the ministry had formed of immediately proclaiming King James, and bringing him with all convenient speed to London.

* Camden. Annal. Elizabethæ, p. 673. Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 52. Osborne's Traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, in his Works, vol. ii. p. 59.

† Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat, tom. v. p. 51, 55, 59. Memoires de Sully, tom. iv. liv. xiv. Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 506, 507.

‡ In order to have a just notion of these jarring claims, the reader may consult the famous treatise on successions, or, as the title runs in many editions, "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England." This was published in 1594, by Father Robert Parsons, a Jesuit; the most pestilent and pernicious book that was ever penned. His design was to weaken the title of King James; to expose the earls of Huntingdon, Derby, Hertford, &c. to the jealousy both of Queen Elizabeth and King James, and to cry up the title of the infant. He most insidiously dedicated it to the earl of Essex, to draw suspicion upon him, and assumed the name of R. Doleman, an inoffensive secular priest, whom he hated, and whom he would gladly have seen hanged for this production of his own, which it was made treason in Queen Elizabeth's reign for any one to have in his custody.

§ Risdon's Description of Devonshire, vol. i. p. 99, 101. Prince's Worthies of Devonshire, p. 213, 214. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 366.

In the methods made use of for this purpose, the wisdom of the great men by whom they were concerted was very conspicuous; for in the first place, care was taken that the lieutenants in the northern counties, and all who had any authority in those parts, were such as were either well affected to King James, or absolute dependants on the then administration.* As to the fleet, which was of mighty consequence at such a juncture, provision was made for its security without the least jealousy given that this was the council's intention: for, it having been found of great benefit to the nation to have a strong squadron of ships on the Spanish coast, from February to November; there could be no umbrage taken at the increasing of these in the spring of the year 1603, because the war with Spain still continued; and though the lords had little confidence in Sir Richard Leveson, who for some years had been intrusted with this squadron, yet they would not remove him, but contented themselves with appointing Sir William Monson, on whom they could depend, his vice-admiral, giving him, however, the command of a better ship than the admiral himself had. They likewise intimated to Sir William, when he went to this service, (the queen being then so low that her recovery was not expected,) that, in case of any stir, Lord Thomas Howard should immediately come and take charge of the fleet, by entering Sir William Monson's ship, and Sir William go on board Sir Richard Leveson's, with a supersedeas to his commission.† But, as it fell out, there was no occasion for executing this project; the queen died; King James came in peaceably, was proclaimed the 24th of March,

* Howe's Continuation of Stowe's Chronicle, p. 817. Speed, p. 844. Mr. Camden's Annals of the Reign of James I. See the letter, at length, of the lords of the council, on whom the administration devolved by the death of the queen, to that monarch, dated London, the 24th of March, 1603, in Spotswood, p. 473—475.

† Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 510.

1603, and crowned on the 25th of July following; the fleet in the mean time keeping sometimes on the English, sometimes on the French coast, and thereby preventing any trouble from abroad, if any such had really been intended. *

King James, at his accession to the English throne, was about thirty-six years of age, and, if he had been a private person, would not have rendered himself very remarkable either by his virtues or his vices. Sober and religious he certainly was; and as to learning, he had enough, if he had known better how to use it. The greatest of his failings were timidity, dissimulation, and a high opinion of his own wisdom; which, however, were more excuseable than modern writers are willing to allow, if we consider the accident that happened to his mother before his birth, the strange treatment he met with in Scotland, from the several factions prevailing in that kingdom, during his junior years, and the excessive flatteries that were heaped on him, after he came hither, by all ranks of people. The nature of this work does not lead me to speak of any part of his administration, except that which relates to maritime concerns; and, therefore, I shall content myself with observing, that, though it was impossible for him to have made himself much acquainted with such matters while he continued in Scotland, yet it does not at all appear that he was negligent of naval concerns, after he was once seated on the English throne, unless his hasty conclusion of a peace with Spain, (which, however, was done by the advice of his council,) may be reckoned an error in this respect, or his too great fear of engaging in any war afterwards, should be thought liable to the like censure.

The accession of King James gave a fair opportunity to the house of Austria to make an end of the long quarrel

* *Memoirs of the Earl of Monmouth.* *Moses's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 310. *Dr. Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 507.

which had subsisted with England; because, during all that time, they had been in peace and amity with King James, as king of Scots. * Immediately on his arrival at London, the arch-duke sent over a minister to the English court; and, in consequence of his negotiations, a peace was soon after concluded with Spain. † Some of the writers of those times tell us, that it was chiefly brought about by the large bribes given to all the king's ministers and favourites, especially to the countess of Suffolk, for her husband's interest; to the earl of Northumberland, for his own; which gratuities, they would further persuade us, enabled them to build the two famous structures of Audley-End, in Essex, and Northumberland-House, in the Strand; ‡ and, among others suspected as to this particular; there are those who insinuate, that the lord-high-admiral Nottingham, came in for his share on this occasion. It seems, however, more reasonable to conclude, that this peace was in reality the effect of the king's inclination, supported by the advice of his most eminent statesmen, some of whom were known to have been for this measure in the queen's time. § There were two treaties, one of peace and alliance, the other of commerce, both signed at London, the 18th of August, 1604, || the constable of Castile, the greatest subject in Spain, being sent for that purpose. All the trading part of the nation

A.D.
1604.

* Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 229. The duke de Sully in his admirable *Memoirs*, tom. iv. liv. xiv. and xv. where he discourses very copiously of the political affairs of England at this period. Wilson, p. 673.

† Stowe, p. 825. Speed, p. 884. Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 3.

‡ Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James*, in his *Works*, vol. ii. p. 105. Sir A. W. Court and Character of King James, p. 26, 27. See also an *Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels*, from the MS. *State Papers of Sir T. Edmondes*, by Dr. Birch, p. 222, 223, 224.

§ See the *Life of Lord Burleigh*, written by one of his domestics, in the first volume of *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 54.

|| *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 579—596. Stowe's *Annals*, p. 346.

were very well pleased with this proceeding, and would have been much more so, if the king had not taken a very strange step upon its conclusion. He erected a company of merchants, who were to carry on the Spanish commerce exclusively, which gave both an universal and very just offence; for as the whole nation had borne the expense of the war, and trade in general had suffered thereby, it was but reasonable, that the benefits of peace should be as diffusive. This evil, however, was of no long continuance; the parliament represented to the king, so clearly, the mischiefs that would inevitably attend such a monopoly, that his majesty was content to dissolve the new-erected company, and to leave the Spanish trade entirely open.*

It must, however, be acknowledged, that there was a very strong party against making this peace, and who did not cease to publish their dislike and apprehensions concerning it, even after it was concluded † The point was, certainly, of high importance, otherwise, it would not have been so warmly canvassed in those days; and it must also have been pretty difficult, since the dispute has reached even to our days, modern writers differing as much about the wisdom of King James in this article, as those who lived in his time. To discuss the matter here, would require more room than we have to spare; to pass it entirely over would be amiss, considering the near relation it has to the subject of this work. I will, therefore, content myself with stating the best reasons that have been offered against the peace, as they were drawn up by the masterly hand of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the

* Detection of the Court and State of England, by Richard Coke, Esq. p. 27. edit. 1696. See likewise the Act 3 James I. c. vi. which recites, among other things, that such a monopoly tended to abate the prices of our wools and cloths, &c.

† See Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 75, 93, 101. Wilson, Osborn, and all the memoir-writers of those times.

answers given to them; both which, I shall leave to the reader's consideration, without fatiguing him with any comment of my own. * Sir Walter's reasons were five, turning chiefly on the inability of the king of Spain to continue the war, and the mighty profits he was likely to reap from the conclusion of the peace. First. He alledged, "That his Catholic majesty had so exhausted his treasure, "that he was no longer able to maintain the arch-duke's "army in Flanders." To this, it was answered, That the fact was very doubtful, especially if the king of Spain was in a condition to bestow those mighty bribes that were said to be distributed at the time this peace was made. Second. "The interruption of his trade, and the "losses of his merchants were so great, as to break both "his banks at Seville." It is granted, that the subjects of the king of Spain suffered excessively by the continuance of this war; but it does not follow, that we gained in proportion; neither is it clear, that, if his Catholic majesty had been undone, the king of Great Britain or his subjects, would have been gainers. Third. "He was afraid, that "the English and Netherlands would plant in the West "Indies." If this fear drove him to grant us better terms, it was our advantage; if not, we could have obtained little by settling in those parts of America which are claimed by Spain; and it was never pretended, that we made this war to extend the trade, or to procure countries for the Dutch. Fourth. "The king of Spain "makes this peace to recruit his coffers, and enable himself "to break into war again." To judge by what was past, this could not well be the motive; for it could hardly be supposed, that Spain would soon recover as great strength as

* These, which were possibly the very points of his memorial to the king against the treaty, are to be found in Sir Walter's dialogue between a recusant and a Jesuit, among the genuine remains published at the end of an abridgment of his *History of the World* by Philip Raleigh, Esq. 8vo, 1700.

she had at the commencement of the war, when yet she was unable to execute her own projects, or to defend herself against us. Fifth. "The king of Spain took this step, that the English might decline and forget the passages and pilotage to the West-Indies, and their sea officers be worn out; for, except a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ship that sails that way; and seeing the Spaniards may hang up the English, or put them to death by torments, as they do, and that the English dare not offend the Spaniards in those parts, a most notable advantage gotten in the conclusion of the peace! it is certain, that the English will give over that navigation, to the infinite advantage of the Spanish king, both present and future." Experience shewed, that, though this was a plausible, yet it was not a true deduction; for, in consequence of this peace, many plantations were settled by us, and our trade to America in particular, as well as our commerce in general, flourished beyond the example of former times. Instead of objections, which are easily framed against the best measures, by men of quick parts and much political knowledge, it would have been more to the purpose, to have shewn what advantages we were to reap from the continuance of the war, and how it might have been better ended at last, than by such a peace as was now made.

But if this treaty gave some dissatisfaction at home, it raised no less discontent abroad. * The Hollanders, who were left to shift for themselves, and who had reaped so great advantages from the favour of Queen Elizabeth, were exceedingly exasperated at a step so much to their

* View of the negociations between England, France, and Brussels, by Dr. Birch, p. 237. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 453, 454. By comparing these books, the reader will see, that King James was not so pusillanimous a prince, in respect to foreign affairs, as he is generally represented, but had spirit enough to demand satisfaction for an insinuation of this sort by Prince Maurice to the States, and steadiness enough to insist upon and to obtain it.

immediate disadvantage. But, as they found themselves still strong enough not only to cope with the Spaniards, but also to make a greater figure than most other nations at sea, they lost that respect which was due to the English flag, and began to assume to themselves a kind of equality even in the narrow seas. This was quickly represented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and thereupon, he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which, was given to Sir William Monson, with instructions to maintain the honour of the English flag, and that superiority which was derived to him from his ancestors in the British seas.* This fleet put to sea in the spring of 1604, and was continued annually under the same admiral, who appears to have been a man of great spirit and much experience; for, as he tells us in his own memoirs, he served in the first ship of war fitted out in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was an admiral in the last fleet she ever sent to sea. Yet he found it a very difficult matter to execute his commission; the Dutch, whenever he conferred with any of their chief officers, gave him fine language and fair promises; but they minded them very little, taking our ships on every frivolous pretences, and treating those they found on board them with great severity, till such time as it appeared the admiral would not bear such usage, and began to make reprisals, threatening to hang as pirates, people who shewed themselves very little better in their actions. There were also high contests about the flag, which began through some accidental civilities shewn to the Hollanders in the late reign, when they sailed under the command of English admirals, upon joint expeditions, and were, on that account, treated as if they had been her majesty's own subjects; which favours, they now pretended to claim as

* Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 27, 34, 36, 55. Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 48, 49. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 237. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 170.

prerogatives due to them in quality of an independent state.* We have no matters of very great importance to treat in this reign, and therefore, I think it will not be amiss to give the reader an account, in Sir William Monson's own words, of the spirit with which he insisted on satisfaction from the Dutch on this head, whereby the right of the English flag, which has been so much stood upon since, was established with regard to this republic; the rather, because I know there are many who will scarce believe, that matters of this nature were carried so far, (perhaps as far as they were ever carried,) under so pacific a prince.

"In my return from Calais," says Sir William, "the 1st of July, 1605, with the emperor's ambassador, as I approached near Dover road, I perceived an increase of six ships to those I left there three days before, one of them being the admiral; their coming in shew was to beleaguer the Spaniards, who were then at Dover.

A.D.
1605.

"As I drew near them, the admiral struck his flag thrice, and advanced it again. His coming from the other coast, at such a time, caused me to make another construction than he pretended; and indeed it so fell out, for I conceived his arrival at that time, was for no other end than to shew the ambassador, who, he knew, would spread it abroad throughout all Europe, as also the Spaniards, that they might have the less esteem of his majesty's prerogative in the narrow seas, that, by their wearing their flag, they might be reputed kings of the sea, as well as his majesty. I hastened the ambassador ashore, and dispatched a gentleman to the admiral, to entreat his company the next day to dinner, which he willingly promised.

"The gentleman told him, I required him to take in his flag, as a duty due to his majesty's ships: he

* See this matter stated in Seldeni Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 26. Molloy de jure maritimo, tit. FLAG.

“ answered, that he had struck it thrice, which he thought
“ to be a very sufficient acknowledgment, and it was more
“ than former admirals of the narrow seas had required
“ at his hands.

“ The gentleman replied, that he expected such an
“ answer from him, and therefore he was prepared with
“ what to say to that point. He told him, the times were
“ altered; for when no more but striking the flag was
“ required, England and Holland were both of them in
“ hostility with Spain, which caused her majesty to
“ tolerate divers things in them; as, for instance, the
“ admiral's wearing his flag in the expedition to Cadiz,
“ and the islands, where the lord-admiral of England and
“ the lord of Essex went as generals, and that courtesy
“ they could not challenge by right, but by permission;
“ and the wars being now ceased, his majesty did require
“ by me, his minister, such rights and duties as have
“ formerly belonged to his progenitors.

“ The admiral refused to obey my command, saying,
“ he expected more favour from me than from other
“ admirals, in respect of our long and loving acquaintance;
“ but he was answered, that all obligations of private
“ friendship must be laid aside, when the honour of one's
“ king and country is at stake. The gentleman advised
“ him, in a friendly manner, to yield to my demand;
“ if not, he had commission to tell him, I meant to weigh
“ anchor, and come near him, and that the force of our
“ ships should determine the question; for, rather than
“ I would suffer his flag to be worn in view of so many
“ nations as were to behold it, I resolved to bury myself
“ in the sea.

“ The admiral, it seems, upon better advice, took in
“ his flag, and stood immediately off to sea, firing a
“ gun for the rest of the fleet to follow him. And thus
“ I lost my guest the next day at dinner, as he had
“ promised.

“ This passage betwixt the admiral and me was observed from the shore, people beholding us to see the event. Upon my landing I met with Sciriago, the general of the Spaniards, who in the time of Queen Elizabeth was employed under Mendoza, the ambassador of Spain. He told me, that if the Hollanders had worn their flags, times had been strangely altered in England, since his old master King Philip the second was shot at by the lord-admiral of England, for wearing his flag in the narrow seas, when he came to marry Queen Mary.” *

These disputes continued for many years; and though, through the vigilance of admiral Monson, the Dutch were defeated in all their pretensions, and the prerogatives of the British sovereignty at sea were thoroughly maintained; yet the republic of Holland still kept up a spirit of resentment, which broke out in such acts of violence, as would not have been passed by in the days of Queen Elizabeth; yet our admiral does not seem to charge the king or his ministry in general with want of inclination to do themselves justice; but lays it expressly at the door of secretary Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury; who thought it, he says, good policy to pass by such kind of offences, † but he does not report any reasons upon which that kind of policy was grounded; yet it did not absolutely or constantly prevail, even in the councils of King James; for upon some surmises that foreigners took unreasonable liberties in fishing in our seas, a proclama-

A.D.
1608.

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 242, 243.

† The reader may consult the dispatches of this great minister, in Winwood's Memorials. The grand point upon which the Hollanders stood, was our old treaties with the House of Burgundy, which, they said, should be observed towards them. The reason, probably, of Salisbury's countenancing them was this, that his father had advised Queen Elizabeth to insist on those treaties as sufficient to justify her in assisting the provinces, notwithstanding her leagues with Spain. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 244.

tion was published in the year 1608, roundly asserting the king's sovereignty in that point, and prohibiting all foreign nations to fish on the British coast; this, though general in appearance, had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themselves so far affected thereby, especially when the king appointed commissioners at London for granting licences to such foreigners as would fish on the English coast; and at Edinburgh, for granting licences of the like nature to such as would fish in the northern sea; and to these regulations, though with great reluctance, they submitted for the present; the reason of which seems to be, their having then affairs of great moment to manage with the court of Great Britain.* In these important concerns, notwithstanding all that had passed, they succeeded, and two treaties were concluded on the 26th of June, 1608, between the crown of Great Britain and the States-General; the one of peace and alliance, the other for stating and settling the debt due to King James.† One would have imagined, that the advantages obtained by these treaties should have brought the republic to a better temper in respect to other matters; but it did not, for within a short time after, they disputed paying the assize-herring in Scotland, the licence-money in England; and, to protect their subjects from the penalties which might attend such a refusal, they sent ships of force to escort their herring busses.‡ These facts, as they are incontestible, I think myself obliged to relate, though without the least prejudice against the Dutch, who are a people certainly to be commended for all such

* Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 358, 359. See a very scarce and curious tract, entitled, *England's Way to win Wealth, &c.* by Tobias Gentleman, London, 1614, 4to. dedicated to the earl of Northampton, where the injuries the British nation suffered by the Dutch fishing in our seas are described at large.

† Rymer's *foedera*, tom. xvi. p. 674, *et seq.*

‡ Selden's *mare claus.* lib. ii. cap. 31. ex Rot. Parliament. 4 Jac. 6. cap. 60. & Rot. Parliament, 6 ejusdem, cap. 86.

instances of their public spirit, as appear to be consistent with the right of their neighbours, and the law of nations. *

But, at this time of day, ministers were too much afraid of parliaments to run the hazard of losing any of the nation's right, for want of insisting upon them, and therefore they prevailed upon the king to republish his proclamation, (which follows,) that a parliament, whenever they met, might see they had done their duty, and advise the king thereupon as they should think fit.

The Proclamation concerning Fishing.

WHEREAS, we have been contented, since our coming to the crown, to tolerate an indifferent and promiscuous kind of liberty to all our friends whatsoever, to fish within our streams, and upon any of our coasts of Great Britain, Ireland, and other adjacent islands, so far forth as the permission, or use thereof, might not redound to the impeachment of our prerogative royal, or to the hurt and damage of our loving subjects, whose preservation and flourishing estate we hold ourself principally bound to advance before all worldly respects: so finding, that our continuance therein, hath not only given occasion of over-great encroachments upon our regalities, or rather questioning of our right, but hath been a means of daily wrongs to our own people, that exercise the trade of fishing, as (either by the multitude of strangers, which do pre-occupy those places, or by the injuries which they receive most commonly at their hands) our subjects are constrained to abandon their fishing, or at least are become so discouraged in the same, as they hold it better for them to betake themselves to some other course of living, whereby not only divers of our coast towns are

A.D.
1609.

* The vouchers for these facts may all be found in the paper-office.

much decayed, but the number of our mariners daily diminished, which is a matter of great consequence to our estate, considering how much the strength thereof consisteth in the power of shipping and use of navigation; we have thought it now both just and necessary, in respect that we are now, by God's favours, lineally and lawfully possessed, as well of the island of Great Britain, as of Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent, to bethink ourselves of good and lawful means to prevent those inconveniencies, and many others depending on the same. In consideration whereof, as we are desirous that the world may take notice, that we have no intention to deny our neighbours and allies those fruits and benefits of peace and friendship, which may be justly expected at our hands, in honour and reason, or are afforded by other princes mutually in the point of commerce, and exchange of those things which may not prove prejudicial to them; so, because some such convenient order may be taken in this matter, as may sufficiently provide for all those important considerations which depend thereupon, we have resolved, first, to give notice to all the world, that our express pleasure is, that from the beginning of the month of August next coming, no person, of what nation or quality soever, being not our natural born subjects, be permitted to fish upon any of our coasts and seas of Great Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent, where most usually heretofore any fishing hath been, until they have orderly demanded and obtained licences from us, or such our commissioners as we have authorised in that behalf, *viz.* at London for our realms of England and Ireland, and at Edinburgh for our realm of Scotland, which licenses our intention is, shall be yearly demanded for so many vessels and ships, and the tonnage thereof, as shall intend to fish for that whole year, or any part thereof, upon any of our coasts and seas, as aforesaid, upon

pain of such chastisement as shall be fit to be inflicted upon such as are wilful offenders.

Given at our palace of Westminster, the 6th day of May, in the seventh year of our reign of Great Britain, *anno Dom.* 1609.

There were also some struggles in this reign with the French, about the same rights of fishery and the sovereignty of the sea, in which, through the vigorous measures taken by Sir William Monson, the nation prevailed, and the French were obliged to desist from their practices of disturbing our fishermen, and otherwise injuring our navigation.* In 1614, the same admiral was sent to scour the Scotch and Irish seas, which were much infested with pirates. We need not much wonder at this, if we consider, that, till King James's accession to the throne of England, there was little, indeed scarce any naval strength in his own country; and that in Ireland the Spaniards, by frequently practising this piratical trade during the war, had given the barbarous inhabitants such a relish of it, that they could not forsake it in time of peace. The noise, however, of their depredations, far exceeded the damage; for, when on the 1st of June, Sir William Monson made the coast of Caithness, the most northern part of Scotland, he found that, instead of twenty pirates, of whom he expected to have intelligence in those parts, there were in fact but two, one of whom immediately surrendered, and the other was afterwards taken by the admiral on the coast of Ireland; where, by a proper mixture of clemency and severity, he extirpated these rovers, and reclaimed the inhabitants of the sea coast from their scandalous way of living, by affording shelter and protection to pirates, furnishing them

A.D.
1614.

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 243. Gentleman's England's Way to win Wealth, p. 34.

with provisions, and taking their plunder in exchange. This service Sir William performed in three months. *

A.D.
1617.

In 1617, Sir Walter Raleigh was released from his imprisonment in the Tower, and had a commission from the king to discover and take possession of any countries in the south of America which were inhabited by heathen nations, for the enlargement of commerce and the propagation of religion: † in the undertaking which expedition, his expenses were borne by himself, his friends, and such merchants as entertained a good opinion of the voyage. His design has been variously represented, and I shall be at liberty to examine it hereafter more at large, in its proper place. At present, I am to speak of it only as a public concern, in which light it was justifiable beyond all question, notwithstanding the outcries that were made against it by the Spaniards. It is indeed pretty evident, that the complaints of their minister Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, so well known afterwards by the title of Count Gondemar, were not so much grounded on any notions he himself had of the injustice of this design, as on a piece of Spanish policy, by raising a clamour on false pretences, to discover the true scope and intent of Sir Walter's voyage. In this he was but too successful; for, upon his representations, that excellent person was obliged to give a distinct account, as well of his preparations for executing, as of the design he was to execute; and this (by what means is not clear) was communicated to the Spaniards, who thereby gained an opportunity, first of disappointing him in America, and then of taking off his head upon his return, to the lasting

* Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 247, 251. The Dutch ambassador, by order of the States, had complained loudly of these pirates in 1611, and had even desired the king's permission to pursue them into the very haven of that kingdom, (Ireland.) Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 285, 286.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 789.

dishonour of this reign, as well as the great detriment of the nation; for, without all doubt, this project of Sir Walter Raleigh's, for settling in Guiana, was not only well contrived, but well founded; and, if it had been followed, might have been as beneficial to Britain as Brazil is to Portugal. †

The disputes with the States of Holland, * in reference to the right of fishing, broke out again, in the year 1618, from the old causes, which were plainly a very high presumption of their own maritime force, and an opinion they had entertained of the king's being much addicted to peace. It is not at all impossible, that they had a great opinion likewise of their minister's capacity, and that sooner or later, if they could but keep up a long negociation, they might either prevail upon the king to drop his pretensions, or repeat their own ill-founded excuses so often till in the close they gained credit. At this time, those who hated the English ministry, treated these differences with that republic as rather criminal than honourable; but, the same men living long enough to get the supreme power into their own hands, in the time of the long parliament, caused the letters of state written at that juncture to be drawn out of the dust and rubbish, and made them, without the smallest scruple, the foundation of that quarrel, which they prosecuted with force of arms. It is to be hoped, that no occasion of the like nature will ever happen; but, nevertheless, as those letters are very curious, and much to the purpose, a few extracts from them cannot but be acceptable, and may be useful.

A.D.
1618.

* See Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 96.

† Mr. Camden, in his Annals of the reign of this prince, says, that the deputies of the States, at their audience of the king, on the 31st of December, 1618, entreated, that nothing might be done in respect to the herring fishing, as it was the great support of their commonwealth, and the only succour and relief of the common people, in regard to the troubles then amongst them.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SECRETARY NAUNTON
TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON, AMBASSADOR TO THE
STATES-GENERAL, DATED THE 21st OF DECEMBER,
1618.

“ I MUST now let your lordship know, that the States
“ commissioners and deputies both, having attended his
“ majesty at Newmarket, and there presented their letters
“ of credence, returned to London on Saturday was
“ se’ennight and, upon Tuesday, had audience in the coun-
“ cil-chamber, where, being required to communicate the
“ points of their commission, they delivered their meditated
“ answer at length. The lords, upon perusal of it, ap-
“ pointed my lord Bining and me to attend his majesty for
“ directions what reply to return to this answer of theirs,
“ which we represented to their lordships yesterday to this
“ effect: That his majesty found it strange, that they,
“ having been so often required by your lordship, his
“ majesty’s ambassador, as from himself, in their public
“ assemblies, to send over commissioners fully authorised
“ to treat and conclude, not only of all differences grown
“ between the subjects of both states, touching the trade
“ to the East Indies, and the whale-fishing, and to regulate
“ and settle a joint and an even traffic in those quarters;
“ but withal, to take order for a more indifferent course
“ of determining other questions, growing between our
“ merchants and them, about their draperies and the tare;
“ and more especially, to determine his majesty’s right for
“ the sole fishing, upon all the coasts of his three king-
“ doms, into which they had of late times incroached far-
“ ther than of right they could; and, lastly, for the regle-
“ ment and reducing of their coins, to such a proportion
“ and correspondence with those of his majesty and other
“ states, that their subjects might make no advantage to
“ transport our monies by enhancing their valuation there.

“ All which they confessed your lordship had instanced
“ them for in his majesty’s name ; that, after all this attent
“ on his majesty’s part, and so long deliberation on theirs,
“ they were come at last with a proposition, to speak only
“ to the two first points, and instructed thereunto with
“ bare letters of credence only, which his majesty takes
“ for an imperious fashion of proceeding in them, as if
“ they were come hither to treat of what themselves
“ pleased, and to give law to his majesty in his own king-
“ dom, and to propose and admit of nothing but what
“ should tend merely to their own ends.

“ To the second, whereas they would decline all debate
“ of the fishing upon his majesty’s coasts first, by allega-
“ tions of their great losses, and the fear of an esmeute of
“ their people, who are all interested in that question,
“ and would belike break out into some combustion to
“ the hazard of their state, which hath lately scaped
“ naufrage, and is not yet altogether calmed. What is
“ this, but to raise an advantage to themselves out of their
“ disadvantage ! But afterwards, they professed their loth-
“ ness to call it into doubt or question, claiming an imme-
“ morial possession, seconded by the law of nations : to
“ which his majesty will have them told, that the kings of
“ Spain have sought leave to fish there by treaty from
“ this crown, and that the king of France, a nearer neigh-
“ bour to our coasts than they, to this day requests leave
“ for a few vessels to fish for provision of his own house-
“ hold ; that they, being a state of so late date, should
“ be the first that would presume to question his majesty’s
“ ancient right, so many hundred years inviolably pos-
“ sessed by his progenitors, and acknowledged by all other
“ ancient states and princes. That themselves, in their
“ public letters of the last of June, sent by your lordship,
“ seemed then to confirm their immemorial possession, as
“ they term it, with divers treaties, as are that of the year
“ 1550, and another between his majesty’s predecessors

“ and Charles V. as prince of those provinces, and not by
 “ the law of nations. To which, their last plea, his
 “ majesty would have told them, that he, being an islander
 “ prince, is not ignorant of the laws and rights of his own
 “ kingdom, nor doth expect to be taught the law of nations
 “ by them, or their Grotius, whose ill thriving might rather
 “ teach others to disavow his positions ; and his honesty,
 “ called in question by themselves, might render his learn-
 “ ing as much suspected to them as his person. This
 “ his majesty takes for an high point of his sovereignty,
 “ and will not have it slighted over in any fashion what-
 “ soever.

“ Thus I have particulated unto you the manner of our
 “ proceeding with them. Let them advise to seek leave
 “ from his majesty, and acknowledge in him his right, as
 “ other princes have done, and do, or it may well come to
 “ pass, that they, that will needs bear all the world before
 “ them by their *mare liberum*, may soon come to have
 “ neither *terram & solum*, nor *republicam liberum*.”

EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE SAID AMBASSADOR TO
 SECRETARY NAUNTON, DATED AT THE HAGUE, THE
 30TH OF DECEMBER, 1618.

“ WHETHER the final resolution here will be according
 “ to his majesty's desire, in that point concerning the fish-
 “ ing upon the coasts of his three kingdoms, I cannot say ;
 “ and, by somewhat which fell from the prince of Orange,
 “ by way of discourse, when he took leave of me on
 “ Monday last, at his departure, I suspect it will not, in
 “ regard the magistrates of these towns of Holland, being
 “ newly placed, and yet scarce fast in their seats, who do
 “ authorize the deputies which come hither to the assem-
 “ bly of the States, in all things they are to treat and
 “ resolve, will not adventure, for fear of the people, to
 “ determine of a business on which the livelihood of fifty

“ thousand of the inhabitants of this one single province.
“ doth depend. I told the prince, that howsoever his
“ majesty, both in honour of his crown and person, and
“ interest of his kingdoms, neither could nor would any
“ longer desist from having his right acknowledged by
“ this state, as well as by all other princes and common-
“ wealths, especially finding the same openly oppugned,
“ both by their statesmen and men of war, as the writings
“ of Grotius, and the taking of John Brown the last year,
“ may testify; yet this acknowledgment of a right and a
“ due, was no exclusion of grace and favour, and that the
“ people of this country paying that small tribute upon
“ every one of their busses, which is not so much as dis-
“ puted by any other nation whatsoever, such was his
“ majesty’s well-wishing to this state, that I presumed of
“ his permission to suffer them to continue their course of
“ fishing, which they might use thereby with more freedom
“ and less apprehension of molestation and let, than before,
“ and likewise spare the cost of some of their men of war,
“ which they yearly send out to maintain that by force,
“ which they may have of courtesy.

“ The prince answered, that for himself, at his return
“ from Utrecht, he would do his best endeavours to pro-
“ cure his majesty’s contentment; but he doubted the
“ Hollanders would apprehend the same effect in their
“ payment for fishing as they found in the passage of the
“ Sound, where at first an easy matter was demanded by
“ the king of Denmark, but now more exacted than they
“ can possibly bear; and, touching their men of war he
“ said, they must still be at the same charge with them,
“ because of the pirates. Withal he cast out a question
“ to me, whether this freedom of fishing might not be
“ redeemed with a sum of money. To which I answered,
“ it was a matter of royalty more than of utility, though
“ princes were not to neglect their profit.” *

• Yet, that we may perceive, whenever our court proceeded with due spirit, it had its effect, and brought even these subtile negotiators to

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SECRETARY NAUNTON,
TO THE LORD AMBASSADOR CARLETON, DATED THE
21st OF JANUARY, 1618.

“ As I had dictated thus far, I received direction from
“ his majesty to signify to the States commissioners here,
“ That albeit their earnest entreaty, and his gracious con-
“ sideration of the present trouble of their church and
“ state, had moved his majesty to consent to delay the
“ treaty of the great fishing till the time craved by the
“ commissioners, yet understanding by new and fresh
“ complaints of his mariners and fishers upon the coasts
“ of Scotland, that, within these four or five last years,
“ the Low Country fishers have taken so great advantages
“ of his majesty’s toleration, that they have grown nearer
“ and nearer upon his majesty’s coasts, year by year, than
“ they did in preceding times, without leaving any bounds
“ for the country people and natives to fish upon their
“ prince’s coasts; and oppressed some of his subjects, of
“ intent to continue their pretended possession, and driven
“ some of their great vessels through their nets, to deter
“ others, by fear of the like violence, from fishing near
“ them, &c.; his majesty cannot forbear to tell them,
“ that he is so well persuaded of the equity of the States,
“ and of the honourable respect they bear unto him, and

make concessions, which in reality destroyed all their pretensions at
other times, will appear from an EXTRACT of a LETTER, dated January
the 14th, 1618, from the same ambassador to Secretary Naunton, in
which he gives him to understand, “ That having been expostulated
“ with, but in a friendly manner, by certain of the States about his
“ late proposition as unseasonable and sharp, they said, they acknow-
“ ledged their commissioners went beyond their limits in their terms
“ of immemorial possession, immutable *droit des gens*, for which they
“ had no order; that he then desired them to consider what a wrong
“ it was to challenge that upon right, which those provinces had
“ hitherto enjoyed either by connivance or courtesy, and yet never
“ without claim on his majesty’s side.”

“ to his subjects for his sake, that they will never allow so
“ unjust and intolerable oppressions; for restraint whereof,
“ and to prevent the inconveniencies which must ensue
“ upon the continuance of the same, his majesty hath by
“ me desired them to write to their superiors to cause pro-
“ clamation to be made, prohibiting any of their subjects
“ to fish within fourteen miles of his majesty’s coasts this
“ year, or in any time hereafter, until orders be taken by
“ commissioners, to be authorized on both sides, for a
“ final settling of the main business. His majesty hath
“ likewise directed me to command you, from him, to
“ make the like declaration and instance to the States
“ there, and to certify his majesty of their answers with
“ what convenient speed you may.”

What effect the ambassador’s negotiation had with the States, appears by a letter of his from the Hague, of the 6th of February, 1618, to King James himself.

“ I find likewise in the manner of proceeding, that
“ treating by way of proposition here, nothing can be
“ expected but their wonted dilatory and evasive answers,
“ their manner being to refer such propositions from the
“ States-General to the States of Holland. The States
“ of Holland take advice of a certain council residing at
“ Delft, which they call the council of the fishery; from
“ them such an answer commonly comes as may be
“ expected from such an oracle. The way therefore
“ (under correction) to effect your majesty’s intent, is to
“ begin with fishers themselves, by publishing, against
“ the time of their going out, your resolution at what dis-
“ tance you will permit them to fish, whereby they will be
“ forced to have recourse to their council of fishery, that
“ council to the States of Holland, and those of Holland
“ to the States-General, who then, in place of being
“ sought unto, will, for contentment of their subjects,
“ seek unto your majesty.”

THESE letters make it perfectly clear, that King James asserted his rights through the long course of this negotiation as clearly and as explicitly as it was possible, and brought the States themselves to acknowledge, that these rights had a just foundation. If it should be inquired how it came to pass, that after carrying things so far, and to such a seeming height, they should fall again into silence and oblivion, the best answer that can be given to this question is, that in the midst of this dispute the prince of Orange asked Sir Dudley Carleton a very shrewd question, *viz.* Whether this claim about the fishery might not be quieted for a sum of money? That gentleman, who was afterwards created Viscount Dorchester, was certainly a man of honour, as fully appears from the advice given in the last letter we have cited; but, whether some men in power might not find a method, by agents of their own, to convey an answer to so plain a demand, is more than at this distance of time can be determined. Sir William Monson tells us, that, in reference to the disputes about the flag, the Dutch found a kind of protector in the great earl of Salisbury; nor is it at all impossible that they might also find an advocate in this important business of the fishery; but, if they did, this must have been a ministerial and not a national bargain, since we shall find, that in the next reign this claim was insisted upon as warmly, and with somewhat better effect, than in that of King James.

We shall, for the same reason, refer to another place the disputes between us and the Dutch about the right of fishing for whales on the coasts of Spitzbergen, as called by the Dutch, but by us, at that time, New Greenland, of which both nations claimed to be the first discoverers; in virtue of that each of them pretended a right of excluding the other, in consequence of which annual struggles ensued, not without some bloodshed. We shall also, for the same cause, refer the measures taken in this reign to support

the dominion of the sea, by declaring in what manner the Spaniards and the Dutch were to prosecute their naval hostilities, without prejudice to the neutrality of English ports, or his majesty's prerogative.

It may not be amiss, however, to observe here, that, by whatever means things were settled and quieted at that time, in respect of the Dutch fishing, it could never affect the claim of right by the crown of Great Britain; for as Sir Dudley Carleton very wisely returned for answer to the question before mentioned, that it was a royalty, so, beyond all doubt, those ancient and immemorial prerogatives of the crown are unalienable; and though treaties may be made for explaining, regulating and adjusting them with our neighbours, yet this must be always understood as done with a view to the maintaining them. These rights belong to the crown, and not to the king; who, though bound by the duty of his office to support and vindicate them, yet is, at the same time, restrained by that duty from alienating them; and, therefore, whatever tolerations, connivances, or forbearances, there may be in particular reigns, or from particular circumstances, these can never be urged in prejudice to the inherent rights of the crown, which always subsist, though they may not always be insisted upon. This doctrine, the reader has before seen, was particularly urged and applied by Sir William Monson in the case of the flag, when the Dutch were desirous of availing themselves of Queen Elizabeth's waving her right in a case where indeed it could not well be insisted upon; that is, where a Dutch squadron served as auxiliaries in a fleet commanded by an English admiral, and, consequently, during that time, were treated as English subjects.

We come now to the only naval expedition of consequence, which was undertaken during the time this king sat upon the throne; I mean the attempt upon Algiers. What the real grounds were of this romantic undertaking,

A.D.
1620.

seems not easy to be discovered. The common story is, that Count Gondemar, having gained an ascendancy over his majesty's understanding, persuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which seldom permitted him to act vigorously against his own enemies, to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of Spain.* But we have it from other hands, that this was a project of much older standing; that the earl of Nottingham had solicited the king to such an expedition, before he laid down his charge of lord-high-admiral; and that Sir Robert Mansel infused it into the head of his successor, Buckingham, that it would give a great reputation to his management of naval affairs, if such a thing was entered upon in the dawn of his administration. As Buckingham easily brought the king to consent to whatever himself approved, there is the utmost probability that it was by his influence this design was carried into execution; notwithstanding that Sir William Monson, who has been consulted upon it, gave his judgment, supported by strong and clear arguments, that it was rash and ill-founded, and that, instead of raising the reputation of the British arms, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, because the whole world would take notice of the disappointment, whereas only a few could judge of its real causes, and of the little reason there was to measure the naval strength of Britain thereby.*

A.D.
1620.

In the month of October, 1620, this fleet sailed from Plymouth. It consisted of six men of war, and twelve stout ships hired from the merchants. Of these Sir Robert Mansel, then vice-admiral of England, had the command in chief; Sir Richard Hawkins was vice-admiral; and Sir Thomas Button rear-admiral; Sir Henry Palmer,

* Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 34. Mr. Camden's Annals of the Reign of King James under the year 1620. Wilson's History of King James, p. 726.

† Naval Tracts, p. 253.

Arthur Manwaring, Thomas Love, and Samuel Argall, Esqrs. were appointed to be members of the council of war, and Edward Clarke, Esq. was secretary. On the 27th of November, they came to an anchor in Algiers road, and saluted the town, but without receiving a single gun in answer. On the 28th, the admiral sent a gentleman with a white flag to let the Turkish viceroy know the cause of his coming; who returned him an answer by four commissioners, that he had orders from the grand Seignior to use the English with the utmost respect, to suffer their men to come on shore, and to furnish them with what provisions they wanted. Upon this a negociation ensued, in which it is hard to say, whether the Turks or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The former refused to dismiss the gentleman first sent, unless an English consul was left at Algiers; and the latter to rid himself of this difficulty, prevailed upon a seaman to put on a suit of good clothes, and to pass for a consul: this cheat not being discovered by the Turks, they sent forty English slaves on board the admiral, and promised to give him satisfaction as to his other demands; upon which he sailed again for the Spanish coast, attended by six French men of war, the admiral of which squadron had struck to the English fleet on his first joining it, which seems to have been the greatest honour, and perhaps the greatest advantage too, that attended this whole expedition. *

It had been well if this enterprise had ended thus; but, after receiving a supply of provisions from England, it was resolved to make another attempt upon Algiers in the spring, and, if possible, to burn the ships in the mole. † Accordingly, in the month of May, the fleet left

A.D.
1621.

* Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 881. See also an account of this expedition, published by authority, in 1621.

† See the relation of this expedition before referred to, which is almost the only authentic account we have of it; and yet it is an

the coast of Majorca, and upon the twenty-first of the same month, anchored before Algiers, and began to prepare for the execution of this design. Two ships taken from the Turks, one of an hundred, the other of sixty tons, were fitted up for this purpose. They were filled with dry wood, oakum, pitch, rosin, tar, brimstone, and other combustibile matter, and provided with chains, grappling-irons, and boats to bring off the men; next followed the three brigantines, which the admiral bought at Alicant, with fire-balls, buckets of wild-fire, and fire-pikes to fasten their fire-works to the enemy's ships. They had also a gunlod, fitted up with fire-works, chains, and grappling-irons; the gunlod was to be fired in the midst of the ships in the mole, having likewise a boat to bring off her men. Seven armed boats followed to sustain those of the fire-ships, in case they were pursued at their coming off. These were likewise furnished with fire-works to destroy the ships without the mole.

The wind not being favourable, the attempt was put off till the twenty-fourth, and blowing then at S. S. W. the ships advanced with a brisk gale towards the mole; but when they were within less than a musket-shot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were discovered by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full; and being informed by a Christian slave, who swam from the town, that the Turks had left their ships unguarded, with only a man or two in each of them, they resolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loss of six men. After a day or two's stay they put to sea, and in the month of June returned to England. This ill-concerted enterprise had no other

account only on one side, and was certainly written to justify the undertaking.

effect, than that of exposing our own commerce to the insults of the Algerines, who did a great deal of mischief, while we did them little or none; though two other fleets were afterwards sent against them, one under the command of the Lord Willoughby, and the other under that of the earl of Denbigh; but both did such little service, that very few of our histories take any notice of them.* Sir William Monson has made some severe but just observations upon these undertakings,† and particularly remarks, that notwithstanding the whole nation was grievously offended, as they will always be at such miscarriages, yet they never had any satisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raise that spirit which vented itself afterwards in a civil war.

In 1623, happened the bloody affair of Amboyna, of which I shall give a short and fair account; because it gave birth to our national hatred of the Dutch, which subsisted so long, and had such fatal effects. By a treaty concluded between Great-Britain and the United Provinces in 1619, it was stipulated amongst other things, that, to prevent farther disputes, the Dutch should enjoy two-thirds of the trade at Amboyna, and the English, one. In pursuance of this a factory was erected in that island as well as other places; yet, in the short space of two years, the Dutch grew weary of their company; and, under pretence of a plot, seized the principal persons in the factory, tortured them, and having extorted from them some confessions, put as many of them as they thought fit to

A.D.
1623.

* In the continuation of Stowe's Chronicle by Howes, there is not a word of it, and in many other books of the same kind, we are barely told when this fleet sailed, and when it came back.

† There are three discourses of his upon this subject, one addressed to the privy-council, on the properest method for attempting the ruin of Algiers; another dissuading from that enterprise; and the third on the mistakes in this expedition, wherein he observes, that during all the time they were out, they were but twenty days out at sea.

death, and under a specious shew of clemency, discharged the rest; seizing, however, not only on this, but all the other factories likewise, which, at that time the English had in the Spice-Islands; and thereby engrossing that most valuable trade to themselves. That this was really a contrivance, seems to be pretty plain, not to make use of a stronger word, from the following circumstances, which are incontestible. The English had only a house wherein their factory resided, whereas the Dutch were possessed of a very strong fort; the number of the former did not exceed twenty, the latter had above two hundred garrison soldiers in the castle, and eight stout ships riding in the port. The prisoners all denied it most solemnly at their deaths, and would have taken the sacrament on the truth of what they said, but that it was refused them by the Dutch. * That I may not be, however, suspected of injustice toward them, I will transcribe their own account of this matter. "This island," says a writer who addressed his work to the States of Holland, † "was
 " a long time the subject of dispute between the Dutch
 " and English. The East-India Company, who had made
 " themselves masters of it, entered into a treaty with the
 " English, for driving out the Portuguese and Spaniards;
 " and by one of the articles of this treaty it was agreed,
 " that they should furnish ten men of war for this purpose. They neglecting this armament, the Indians of
 " Ternate taking advantage of the weakness which this
 " omission of theirs had occasioned, agreed to a suspension
 " of arms with the Spaniards; and having made an
 " alliance with the king of Tidore, who was an enemy
 " to the Dutch, attacked several islands dependent on

* See a pamphlet, entitled "A True Relation of the Unjust, Cruel, and Barbarous Proceeding against the English at Amboyna, published by authority, 1624, 4to." and several other Tracts.

† M. Basnage in his *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 129. Coke's *Detection of the Court and State of England*, p. 96, 97.

“ Amboyna, and having made themselves masters of them,
“ resolved to attack the citadel; and the English are said
“ to have been concerned with them in this design, which
“ was discovered by a Japanese. The governor heard
“ from all sides, that the English had taken his citadel.
“ Astonished at these reports, though false, he put himself
“ on his guard, and seized the Japanese, whom he sus-
“ pected. This man confessed, that the English were
“ engaged in a conspiracy against the governor; that,
“ taking advantage of his absence, the citadel was to be
“ seized, and that the Japanese in the island had engaged
“ to execute this project. The governor, without hesi-
“ tation, arrested all who were accused of having any
“ hand in this design. The English confessed, that their
“ factor had sworn them upon the gospel never to reveal
“ the secret; which, however, they did, and signed their
“ confessions, some freely, and the rest constrained thereto
“ by the violence of the torture. They were all executed;
“ and this is what is commonly called the massacre of
“ Amboyna. The English have always maintained, that
“ this crime was purely imaginary, and only made use
“ of as a pretext to sacrifice their nation to the ven-
“ geance of a governor; and therefore they continued to
“ demand satisfaction for this loss from 1623 to 1672, when,
“ through the indifferent state of their affairs, they were
“ glad to depart from it.” This Dutch account, and
indeed all the accounts I have ever seen of their drawing
up, sufficiently prove, that there was more of policy than
of any thing else in this whole proceeding; and that what
the Dutch in this black business chiefly aimed at, was
the excluding us from the spice-trade, in which they effec-
tually prevailed.

It is indeed strange, that, considering the strength of
the nation at sea at the time we received this insult, and
the quick sense which the English always have of any na-
tional affront, no proper satisfaction was obtained, nor any

vigorous measures entered into in order to exact it. But the wonder will, in a great measure, cease, when we consider the state of the crown, and of the people, at that period. The king had been engaged, for many years, in a tedious, dishonourable, and distasteful negotiation, for the marriage of his son Prince Charles, with the princess of Spain : to the chimerical advantages he proposed from this, he sacrificed the interest of his family, the glory of his government, and the affections of his people ; and yet could never bring the thing to bear, but was at last forced to break off the treaty abruptly, and to think of entering upon a war, from which he had always been averse, especially at the close of his life and reign. Such was the situation of things when this accident happened at Amboyna ; and therefore, though it made a great noise, and occasioned much expostulation with that republic ; yet the attention of the crown to the proposed war with Spain, and its concern for the recovery of the Palatinate, joined to the necessity there was of managing the Dutch at so critical a juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther than remonstrances, while our competitors kept exclusively so very considerable a branch of trade. I have taken the more pains to settle and clear up this matter, because it is a full proof of a truth we ought never to forget, *viz.* that domestic dissensions are particularly fatal to us as a trading nation ; and that it is impossible for us to maintain our commerce in a flourishing condition, if we do not at least enjoy peace, and with it unanimity at home, whatever our circumstances may be abroad.

I know of nothing relating to naval affairs in this reign of which I have not already spoken, except the sending a fleet to bring home Prince Charles from Spain, may be reckoned in that number. It consisted, however, of a few ships only, but in good order and well manned, so that the Spaniards are said to have expressed great satisfaction at the sight of it ; which, however, true or false, is a matter

of no great consequence. This voyage, though a short one, gave Prince Charles some idea of maritime affairs, which proved afterwards of benefit to the nation. The breaking the Spanish match made way for a war with that kingdom, much to the satisfaction of the English; but, in the midst of the preparations that were making for it, the king ended his days at Theobald's, on the 27th of March, 1625, in the 59th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign.* His pacific temper occasioned our having but little to say in this part of our work; but, before we proceed to mention the eminent seamen who flourished in his time, it will be proper to give the reader a concise view of the improvement of trade and navigation within this period, as well as a brief account of the colonies settled while this prince sat upon the throne.

A.D.
1625.

It has been already shewn, that, under the public-spirited administration of Queen Elizabeth, this nation first came to have any thing like a competent notion of the benefits of an extensive commerce; and began to think of managing their own trade themselves, which down to that period had been almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. So long as the war continued with Spain, our merchants went on in a right way; by which I mean, that they prosecuted their private advantage in such a manner, as that it proved likewise of public utility, by increasing the number of seamen and of stout ships belonging to this kingdom: but after King James's accession, and the taking place of that peace which they had so long and so earnestly expected, things took a new and strange turn. Our traders saw the manifest advantage of using large and stout ships; but, instead of building them, were content to freight those of their neighbours, because a little money was to be saved by this method. In consequence of this

* Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 155. Stowe's Chronicle continued by Howes, p. 1036. Wilson and other historians,

notion, our shipping decayed in proportion as our trade increased; till, in the year 1615, things were come to so strange a pass, that there were not ten ships of two hundred tons belonging to the port of London. Upon this the Trinity-house petitioned the king, setting forth the matter of fact, and the dreadful consequences it would have, with respect of our naval power, through the decay of seamen, and praying, that the king would put into execution some good old laws, which were calculated for the redress of this evil, suggesting also the example of the state of Venice, which, on a like occasion, had prohibited their subjects to transport any goods in foreign bottoms. The merchants unanimously opposed the mariners in this dispute; and, having at this juncture better interest at court, prevailed. Yet, in a year's time the tables were turned; and the merchants, convinced of their own mistake, joined with the mariners in a like application. An extraordinary accident produced this happy effect. Two ships, each of the burden of three hundred tons, came into the river Thames, laden with currants and cotton, the property of some Dutch merchants residing here. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders; they saw now, that through their own error they were come back to the very point from which they set out; and that, if some bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be gradually driven again by foreigners on foreign bottoms. They instantly drew up a representation of this, and laid it before the king and his council; upon which a proclamation was issued, forbidding any English subject to export or import goods in any but English bottoms. *

When once people have entered into a course of industry, the benefits accruing from it will generally keep them in that road; and even the difficulties they meet with turn to

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 328.

their advantage. Thus, after the English merchants had built a few large ships in their own ports, and furnished them with artillery and other necessities, they found themselves in a condition to launch into many trades that were unthought of before; and, though for some time they suffered not a little by the Algerines and other pirates of Barbary, yet, in the end, they got more than they lost by these accidents; for, it put them upon building still larger ships, as well as taking more care in providing and manning small ones; which had such an effect in the course of seven years, that whereas ships of a hundred tons had been before esteemed very large vessels, and were generally built and brought from beyond the seas; now there were many merchantmen of three, four, and five hundred tons belonging to several ports; and upwards of a hundred vessels, each of above two hundred tons burden, belonging to Newcastle alone, all built at home, and better built than elsewhere; and, before the death of King James, our trade was so far increased, that, in the opinion of Sir William Monson, we were little, if at all inferior in maritime force to the Dutch.*

In respect of the encouragements given by the crown for promoting commerce and plantations in the East Indies and America, they were as great under this reign as under any succeeding one. Several voyages were made on account of the East India Company, and the king did not spare sending an ambassador into those parts for their service. Virginia and New England were, in a great measure, planted; Barbadoes possessed and settled; and Bermudas discovered in his time.† I do not know whether the

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 329, 350. Stowe's Annals, p. 994, and the same facts are also to be met with in several of the treatises on commerce, which will be hereafter mentioned.

† See a Declaration of the State of the Colony of Virginia, by his Majesty's Council for Virginia, London, 1620, 4to. Captain Smith's General History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Islands, London, 1627, fol. Purchas's Pilgrims and Pilgrimage.

attempts made for fixing colonies in Newfoundland, and Acadia or New Scotland, deserve any commendation; because, as they were managed at that time, they could turn to little account; yet, it must be allowed, that the government meant well by the encouragement given to these undertakings, which went so far as directing proposals for settling Newfoundland to be read in churches, that all who had any mind to be concerned in such attempts might have due notice. * Some benefits certainly accrued even from these abortive projects: they occasioned building a great many good ships, increased the Newfoundland-fishery, added to the number of our sailors, and kept alive that spirit of discovering which is essential to a beneficial commerce; since, whenever a nation comes to think it has trade enough, their trade will quickly decline. Besides, it engaged abundance of knowing and experienced persons to write upon all branches of traffic; and their books, which yet remain, sufficiently prove, that there were numbers in those days, who thoroughly understood all the arts necessary to promote manufactures, navigation, and useful commerce. †

As to the navy, which was more particularly the care of the crown, we find that it frequently engaged the attention of the king himself, as well as of his ministers. In most of our naval histories we have a list of nine ships added to

* Order of the King in Council at Theobald's, April 12, 1622, printed with other things, and directed to be read in Churches, London, 1621, 4to.

† Such as, *An Essay of the means to make Travel useful, profitable, and honourable*, by Thomas Palmer, London, 1606, 4to. *Virginia Richly Valued*, by Richard Hakluyt, London, 1609, 4to. *The Planter's Plea, or the grounds of Plantations examined, and objections answered*, London, 1620, 4to. *A Discourse on the Trade to the East Indies*, by Thomas Mun. *The Maintenance of Free Trade*, by George Malynes, merchant, London, 1622, 8vo. *The Center of the Circle of Commerce*, by the same hand, London, 1623, 4to.

the royal navy of England by this prince, which list is taken from Sir William Monson, and stands thus : *

SHIPS.	MEN IN HARBOUR.	MEN AT SEA.
Reformation	9	250
Happy Entrance	7	160
Garland	7	160
St. George	9	250
Mary Rose	6	120
Triumph	12	300
Swiftsure	9	250
Bonaventure	7	160
St. Andrew	9	250

But that this list is very defective, we may conclude from hence, that there is no mention therein of the greatest ship built in this king's reign, and built too by his express direction; of which we have so exact, and at the same time so authentic an account, that it may not be amiss to transcribe it.

“ This year, 1610, the king built a most goodly ship for war, the keel whereof was one hundred and fourteen feet long, and the cross beam was forty-four feet in length; she will carry sixty-four pieces of great ordnance, and is of the burden of fourteen hundred tons. This royal ship is double built, and is most sumptuously adorned, within and without, with all manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, being in all respects the greatest and goodliest ship that ever was built in England; and this glorious ship the king gave unto his son Henry prince of Wales. The 24th of September, the king, the queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and the Lady Elizabeth, with many great lords, went unto Woolwich to see it launched; but, because of the narrowness of the dock, it could not then be launched; whereupon the prince came the next morning by three o'clock, and then, at

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 277.

“ the launching thereof, the prince named it after his
 “ own dignity, and called it the Prince. The great work-
 “ master in building this ship was Mr. Phineas Pet, gen-
 “ tleman, some time master of arts of Emmanuel College,
 “ in Cambridge.” *

In the same author we have an account of the king's going on board the great East India ship of twelve hundred tons, which was built here, and seems to have been the first of that size launched in this kingdom. The king called it the Trade's Increase; and a pinnace of two hundred and fifty tons, which was built at the same time, he called the Pepper-corn. † This shews that he was a favourer of navigation; and, though I cannot pretend to say exactly what additions he made to the English fleet, yet, from some authentic calculations I have seen, I think I may venture to affirm, that Queen Elizabeth's ships of war, at the time of her death, might contain somewhat more than sixteen thousand tons; and that, in the days of King James, they amounted to upwards of twenty thousand tons. ‡ The king also granted a commission of inquiry for reforming the abuses in the navy, the proceedings upon which are still preserved in the Cotton library. § He was liberal likewise to seamen, and naturally inclined to do them honour; but as in other things, so in this, he was too much governed by his favourites. || Buckingham managed the admiralty very indifferently; and, before his time, Gondamar had persuaded King James, against reason, law, the inclinations of his people, nay, against his own sense of things, to take off the head of the greatest man who flourished in his reign, and of whom I am now particularly to speak.

* Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes, p. 996. Mr. Camden's Annals of the Reign of King James, under the year 1610.

† Ibid. p. 994. ‡ From some Notes on Hakluyt, MS.

§ Vitellius, E. 8. || Wilson, Baker, Kennet, Echard, and Rapin.

MEMOIRS OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH, KNIGHT.

As the fame of this gentleman's actions was sufficient to have established and given lustre to any family ; so his descent was honourable enough to exempt him from envy, even in the high posts which he by his merit obtained. There were several families of the name of Raleigh in the west ; and three particularly, which were seated in several parts of the country, and bore different arms. That from which this gentleman sprung, may be, and indeed is, traced to the reign of King John, as the Raleighs, in general, are beyond the conquest. * His father was Walter Raleigh, Esq. of Fardel, in the county of Devon. This gentleman had three wives, and children by them all. The last was Catharine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonshire, Esq. By this lady, Mr. Raleigh had two sons, Carew, who was afterwards knighted, and Walter, of whom we are treating ; as also a daughter, Margaret, who was twice married. Thus it appears, that this gentleman was brother by the mother's side to those famous knights, Sir John, Sir Humphry, and Sir Adrian Gilbert. †

He was born in the year 1552, at a pleasant farm called Hayes, seated in that part of Devonshire which borders on the sea ; and, after laying the foundations of literature in his own country, was sent to Oxford while a very young man ; since, according to the best authority, he was there in 1568, and soon distinguished himself by a proficiency in learning far beyond his age. ‡ When he

* See these points judiciously cleared, by Mr. Oldys, in his *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 4, 5, 6.

† Visitation of Devonshire, by William Hervey, Esq. Clarencieux, MS. in the Herald's Office.

‡ Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 435.

came to, and how long he staid in, Oriel college is not very clear; neither is it well made out, though often and very confidently asserted, that he was afterwards of the Middle Temple. This we may consider as sure, that about 1569, he, in company with many young gentlemen of good families and martial dispositions, went over into France, as well to instruct themselves in the art of war, as to assist the Protestants in that kingdom, then grievously oppressed.* He served there some considerable time, and acquired both skill and reputation. The former is evident, from many judicious observations on those wars which we meet with scattered through his works; and the latter is attested by contemporary and credible authors. It appears from a comparison of facts and dates, that he was somewhat more than five years thus employed; and having still an earnest desire to improve his military skill, and an eager thirst for glory, he passed next into the Netherlands, where he served likewise some time against the Spaniards.† In these transactions, he followed, as it was natural for a young man to do, the fashion of the times. France and the Netherlands were in those days the schools of Mars; to which all were obliged to resort who addicted themselves to the sword, and were willing to find a way to reputation, by exposing their persons in the service of their country. But whereas numbers were ruined by this course; suffering their minds to be corrupted by the licence of camps; and their behaviour to be infected with that fierce and boisterous humour, which some take for a soldier-like freedom; Raleigh, on the contrary, made the true use of his service in a foreign country; increased his stock of knowledge in all kinds; improved his skill as a soldier, by experience; and so completely polished his manner of address, that, at his return, he was considered

* Camden's Annals, A. D. 1569. Jac. August. Thuani Historiarum sui temporis, tom. ii. fol. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601.

† Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 28.

as one of the best bred and most accomplished gentlemen in England, at a period when this was no singular character.

On Mr. Raleigh's coming back to his native soil, in 1578, he found his brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert, engaged in a design of making discoveries in North America, for which he had obtained a patent, and for the furtherance of which he had procured the assistance of many friends. Raleigh was much taken with the design, and embarked in it cordially. When it came to be executed, many who had been warmly concerned drew back. Mr. Raleigh, however, not only continued firm to his engagements, but resolved to accompany his brother in person. * This, after all, proved an unfortunate undertaking, and would have frightened a man of less resolution than Raleigh, from venturing to sea again; for they not only missed the great discoveries they thought to have made, but were attacked by the Spaniards, in their return; and, though they made a very gallant defence, they had no reason to boast of success, losing one of the best ships in their small fleet, and in it a very gallant young gentleman, whose name was Miles Morgan. † From this unlucky adventure, Mr. Raleigh arrived safe in England, in the spring of the year 1579; and had soon after thoughts of serving his queen and country in Ireland, where his holiness Pope Gregory VIII. and the Spaniards had sent men, money, and blessings, to comfort and assist such as, in breach of their oaths, would take arms against their lawful sovereign, and cut the throats of the innocent English. ‡

It is not very clear at what time our hero crossed the seas; but it appears from indubitable authority, that in 1580, he had a captain's commission under the president of

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 143. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1369. Hooker's Dedication of his Translation and Continuation of the Irish Chronicles.

† See Captain Hayes's relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 164.

‡ Hooker's Supplement to the Irish Chronicles, p. 154.

Munster, which was then a more honourable commission than now; because there were fewer soldiers, and consequently more care was taken in distributing commissions. * The next year Captain Raleigh served under the noble earl of Ormond, then governor of Ulster; a person conspicuous by his illustrious birth, and near relation to Queen Elizabeth; but still more so by his virtues and steady adherence to his duty, in spite of greater temptations than any other man met with, and by whose directions Raleigh performed many signal services. The Spanish succours, under the command of an officer of their own, assisted by a choice body of their Irish confederates, had raised and fortified a castle, which they called Del Ore; and which they intended should serve them for a place of retreat, whenever they found themselves distressed; and prove also a key to admit fresh succours from abroad, which they daily expected, and for which it was mighty well situated, as standing upon the bay of Smerwick, or St. Mary Wick, in the county of Kerry. The then deputy of Ireland, Lord Grey, was a person of great courage and indefatigable industry; but withal of a very severe temper; particularly prejudiced against the Irish; and who resolved at all hazards to dispossess them of this fort; which he accordingly besieged with his small army for some time. In this dangerous enterprize Captain Raleigh had his share; commanding often in the trenches; and contributing greatly to the reduction of the place; which was at last forced to surrender at discretion, and the lord-deputy directed the greatest part of the garrison to be put to the sword. This was accordingly executed, though with great regret, by the Captains Raleigh and Mackworth. † Many other services he performed in Ire-

* Cox's History of Ireland, p. 366.

† Stowe, p. 688. Camden, p. 334—339. Hooker's Supplement to the Irish Chronicle, fol. 171. Spenser's State of Ireland, in his Works, vol. vi. p. 158; where, however, he vindicates the lord-deputy warmly, and speaks as an eye and ear witness of all that passed.

land, of a nature not necessary for me to relate ; and these very justly recommended him to the notice of the government, which in 1581, honoured him with a joint commission to be governor of Munster. In this character he continued to do the state many important services, which were amply rewarded by the grant of a large estate in the county he had subdued. *

Yet all his care and all his services did not hinder his having many enemies, and among them the lord-deputy Grey ; so that he seems to have been recalled in the latter end of the same year, to England, where he was quickly introduced to the queen's notice, and by his own merits attained a large share in her favour ; † and as he was forward to distinguish himself in all public services of reputation ; so, on the return of the duke of Anjou into the Netherlands, he was one of those who accompanied him out of England, by the express command of Queen Elizabeth ; and, on his coming to England in 1582, he brought over the prince of Orange's letters to the queen. ‡ Some months after this he resided at court ; and was honoured with the favour and protection even of contending statesmen, who were proud of shewing the true judgment they made of merit, by becoming patrons to Raleigh. § In 1583, he was concerned in his brother Gilbert's second attempt ; and though he went not in person, yet he built a new ship, called the Bark Raleigh, and furnished it completely for the voyage ; the unsuccessful end of which it seemed to predict, by its untimely return in less than a week to Plymouth, through a contagious distemper which seized on the ship's crew. || Yet did not either this

* Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 28, 29.

† Leicester's *Commonwealth*, p. 37. Aulic. Coquin. p. 90.

‡ Sir Walter Raleigh's *Invention of Shipping*, in his *Select Essays*, p. 36.

§ Shirley's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 19. Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 437.

|| Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 149.

accident, or the unfortunate loss of his brother, Sir Humphry, which has been heretofore related, drive from Raleigh's thoughts a scheme so beneficial to his country, as these northern discoveries seemed to be. He therefore, digested into writing, an account of the advantages which he supposed might attend the prosecution of such a design; and, having laid his paper before the council, obtained her majesty's letters patent in favour of his project, dated the 25th of March, 1584. * By this seasonable interposition, he kept alive that generous spirit of searching out and planting distant countries, which has been ever since of such infinite service to the trade and navigation of England.

It was not long before Mr. Raleigh carried his patent into execution; for having made choice of two worthy commanders, Captain Philip Amadas and Captain Arthur Barlow, he fitted out their vessels with such expedition, though entirely at his own expense, that on the twenty-seventh of April following, they set sail from the west of England for the coast of North America; where they safely arrived in the beginning of the month of July, and took possession of that fine country, which has been since so famous by the name bestowed on it by Queen Elizabeth, and not given, as is generally surmised, by Sir Walter Raleigh, of Virginia. †

About this time, he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Devon; ‡ and making a considerable figure in parliament, he, upon some occasion entering the royal presence in his capacity as a member of the House of Commons, received the honour of knighthood; but at what time is not exactly known. In 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a second fleet for Virginia, in which

* Historical Account of the Voyages of Sir W. Raleigh, London, 1719, 8vo. p. 8. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 243.

† Life of Sir W. Raleigh, by Oldys, p. 25.

‡ Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, vol. ii. p. 254.

he had very good success; his ships in their return taking a Spanish prize worth fifty thousand pounds.* He was likewise concerned in Captain Davis's undertaking, for the discovery of the north-west passage; for which reason a promontory in Davis's Streights was called Mount Raleigh.† In respect of these public spirited and very expensive projects, the queen was pleased to make him some profitable grants; particularly two, the first of wine licences,‡ and the other, of a seigniority in Ireland, consisting of twelve thousand acres, which he planted at his own expense, and many years after sold to Richard Boyle, the first earl of Corke.§ Encouraged by these favours, he fitted out a third fleet for Virginia, and two barks, to cruise against the Spaniards near the Azores, which had such success, that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes behind them.|| This good fortune of his abroad, was so improved by his own prudent behaviour at home, that the queen, in the latter part of the year 1586, made him seneschal of the dutchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall; which preferments, though no more than his merit deserved, yet exposed him to the malice of such as, having no deserts of their own, despaired of attaining, by their intrigues, the like advantages.¶

In the year 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a fourth fleet for Virginia, at his own expense; and in 1588, a fifth; but neither had any great success, notwithstanding all imaginable care was taken to provide them thoroughly in all respects, and to employ none in this service but men of resolution and reputation.** These disappoint-

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 251.

† Ibid. p. 101.

‡ Oldys's Life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 26.

§ Cox's History of Ireland, p. 389—391.

|| Hakluyt, vol. ii. part ii. p. 120.

¶ See Hooker's Dedication of his Supplement to the Irish Chronicles to Sir W. Raleigh.

** Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 288.

ments, however, served only to shew the constancy of our hero's temper, and the firmness with which he pursued whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good, how little soever it turned to his private advantage. With justice, therefore, was the wise Queen Elizabeth liberal to such a man; who, whatever he received from her bounty with one hand, bestowed it immediately in acts glorious to the nation with the other. The fertile field thus refunds the sun's golden beams in a beautiful and copious harvest of golden ears.

When the nation was alarmed with the news of the king of Spain's famous armada, Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the council appointed to consider of ways and means for repulsing those invaders; and his application of his thoughts to this important question, at that time, produced such a scheme for defence, as may be of the greatest use to this island, while it remains such.* He did not, however, confine himself to this province of giving advice; but, as he had often fitted out ships for his country's honour and his own; so he now did the like for its defence; and, not satisfied even with that, he exposed also his person among the many noble volunteers who went to sea upon that occasion, and performed such signal services in the attack and destruction of that formidable fleet, as recommended him further to the queen's favour; who granted him some additional advantages in his wine office, which he enjoyed throughout her whole reign, and was the principal source of that wealth which he employed so much to his honour in all public services.†

About this time, he made an assignment of all his right, title, and interest in the colony of Virginia, to certain gentlemen and merchants of London, in hopes they might

* See an extract of this piece in Oldys's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 39.

† Townshend's *Historical Collections*, p. 244.

be able to carry on a settlement there more successfully than he had done. He had already spent upwards of forty thousand pounds in his several attempts for that purpose; and yet it does not appear that he parted with his property, either out of a prospect of gain, or through an unwillingness to run any further hazard; for, instead of taking a consideration, he gave them, at the time of making the assignment, an hundred pounds toward their first expenses: neither did he make any reserve, except the fifths of all gold and silver mines. All his view was to engage such a number of joint adventurers, as by their concurring interests and industry might strengthen his infant colony, and enable it to reach the end which he had designed. With the same view he continued to assist the company with his advice and protection, whenever they desired it; and the difficulties they struggled with, for twenty years after, sufficiently shewed, it was not through any fault of the original proprietor that Virginia did not sooner flourish; and that his wisdom and prudence were no less to be admired in this disposal of his concern therein, than his courage and conduct deserved applause in first fixing upon so advantageous a spot, which has since proved itself worthy of all the care and expense employed in the support of it.*

When a proposition was made by Don Antonio, king of Portugal, to Queen Elizabeth, to assist him in the recovery of his dominions, the terms he offered appeared so reasonable, that her majesty was contented to bear a considerable share in that undertaking, and to encourage her public-spirited subjects to furnish the rest.† Her majesty's quota consisted of six men of war, and three-score thousand pounds; to which the adventurers added a hundred and twenty sail of ships, and between fourteen

* Hakluyt's Voyages, first edit. p. 815.

† See Don Antonio's Letter to the Treasurer in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 536.

and fifteen thousand men, soldiers and sailors. In the fitting out this fleet Sir Walter Raleigh was deeply concerned, and took a share himself in the expedition, of which a large account has been given already; * and, therefore, there is no need of repeating it here, especially since we meet with no particulars, which personally respect Sir Walter, worth mentioning, except it be taking some hulks belonging to the Hanse towns; for which he, together with some other commanders, received, as a special mark of the queen's favour, a gold chain. † The next year, he made a voyage to Ireland, and toward the latter end of it, formed a grand design of attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies, taking the Plate fleet, and sacking Panama. ‡

This enterprise, like that of Portugal, was partly at the queen's charge, and partly at that of private persons; among whom the principal were Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir John Hawkins; the former intending to go in person as commander in chief of the fleet, which consisted of two of the queen's ships, and thirteen sail besides. § Many accidents happened, which detained these ships on the English coast for twelve weeks; but, at last, Sir Walter Raleigh sailed on the 6th of May, 1592. The very next day, Sir Martin Frobisher followed, and overtook him with the queen's letter to recal him; but he, thinking his honour too deeply engaged, continued at sea, till all hopes of success, according to their intended scheme, was lost; and then returned, leaving the command of the fleet to Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir John Burgh, or Burrough, with orders to cruize on the coast of Spain, and the islands. In pursuance of these orders, Sir John Burgh happily made himself master of the

* See the *Naval History of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 442.

† *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Oldys, p. 50.

‡ *Hakluyt*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 194.

§ *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts*, p. 280.

Madre de Dios, or Mother of God, one of the greatest ships belonging to the crown of Portugal, which he brought safely into Dartmouth, on the 7th of September, in the same year.* This is said to have been the most considerable prize, till then, taken in this war; and therefore it may not be amiss to give a particular account of it.

This carrack was in burden no less than sixteen hundred tons, whereof nine hundred were merchandize; she carried thirty-two pieces of brass ordnance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; was built with decks, seven story, one main orlope, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spare deck, of two floors a piece. According to the observations of Mr. Robert Adams, an excellent geometrician, she was in length, from the beak head to the stern, one hundred and sixty-five feet; in breadth, nearly forty-seven feet; the length of her keel, one hundred feet; of the main mast, one hundred and twenty-one feet; its circuit at the partners, nearly eleven feet; and her main yard one hundred and six feet.† As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at Leadenhall, the 15th of September this year, the principal wares consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, porcelane, or china ware, ebony; besides 'pearl, musk, civet, and ambergris, with many other commodities of inferiour value. The cargo freighted ten of our ships for London; and was, by moderate computation, valued at a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.‡ When this vessel was first taken, both Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins judged it to be worth four times that sum; § and so in all probability she

* See a true report of the honourable service by Sir John Burrough, lieutenant-general of the fleet, prepared by Sir Walter Raleigh, in Hakluyt, as before cited.

† Ibid.

‡ Affirmed in the close of the said account.

§ This original is still preserved in the Harleian Collection, Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 65.

was: but in spite of all the care Sir John Burgh could take, the seamen embezzled a vast quantity of valuable effects; neither were the proprietors in a much better situation, when she was brought home. Sir William Monson tells us the reason, and I choose to give it in his own words. "The queen's adventure," says he, "in this voyage, was only two ships, one of which, and the least of them too, was at the taking the carrack; which title joined to her royal authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the adventurers were forced to submit themselves to her pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently."* Thus it appears from unexceptionable authority, that the queen, and not Sir Walter, was most benefited by this capture; and there is reason to believe the like happened upon other occasions, though Sir Walter was generally left to bear the blame.

While Sir Walter remained at home, his great genius displayed itself in all the employments worthy of a citizen, in a free state. He shone in the senate as a patriot; and the remains we have of his speeches, leave us in doubt which we ought most to admire, the beauty of his eloquence, or the strength of his understanding.† He was, besides, the patron and protector of learned men, the great encourager of all public undertakings, and one of the queen's declared favourites at court.‡ It was here that Sir Walter Raleigh found himself at a loss. In spite of all his wisdom and prudence he became enamoured of Mrs. Throckmorton, one of the queen's ladies of honour; and the consequences of this amour proved such as could not be concealed. The queen, though she had passed by errors of a like nature in Leicester and Essex; yet

* Naval Tracts, p. 181.

† Sir Simonds d'Ewes Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Hayward Townshend's Historical Collections, fol. 65.

‡ Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia. Lloyd's State Worthies.

punished this mistake of Raleigh very severely; but, whether led thereto by the insinuations of his enemies, or from a notion, that the greater a man's abilities the less his offences deserved pardon, I pretend not to determine.* However, the queen's frowns wrought, in this respect, a proper reformation. Sir Walter meditated, in his retirement, a greater design† than hitherto he had undertaken while in the queen's favour; and that was the discovery of the rich and spacious empire of Guiana, a noble country in South America, which the Spaniards had then only visited, and to this day have never conquered.

From the time he first entertained this notion, he made it his business to collect whatever informations might be had relating to this place, and the means of entering it. When he thought himself as much master of the subject as books could make him, he drew up instructions for Captain Whiddon, an old experienced officer, whom he sent to take a view of the coast; and who returned with a fair report of the riches of the country; the possibility of discovering and subduing it; and the treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards settled in its neighbourhood. This fixed Sir Walter in his resolution; and, therefore, having provided a squadron of ships at his own expense, and those of his noble friends the Lord high admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, he prepared for this adventure,‡ which he also accomplished.

On the 6th of February, 1595, he sailed from Plymouth, and arrived at the isle of Trinidad on the 22d of March. He there made himself easily master of St. Joseph, a small city; and took the Spanish governor

* Camden, p. 697. Dr. Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 79. Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*. Lloyd's *State Worthies*.

† See the dedication prefixed to his own discourse hereafter mentioned.

‡ *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Oldys, p. 77.

Antonio Boreo prisoner; who gave him a full and exact description of the neighbouring continent, and the trade in those parts, unknown before to the English. On this information he left the ship at Trinidad; and with a hundred men, in several little barks, proceeded up the river Oronoque four hundred miles in search of Guiana: Carrapana, one of the petty kings of the country, and several others of them, resigning their sovereignties into his hand for the queen's use. But the weather was so hot, and the rains so violent, that he was forced to retire; in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as crushed by the rage and power of his enemies. The inhabitants of Cumana refusing to bring in the contribution he assigned them to pay to save the town, he fired it, as also St. Mary's and Rio de la Hacha; which done, he returned home with glory and riches. Of the whole of his proceedings; the manner of his entering this hidden country; and making a farther progress there in a month, than the Spaniards had done in half a century; of the nature of the soil, and the certainty of finding many and rich mines of gold; Sir Walter has left us so fair, so copious, and so well-written a relation, * that, if his subsequent unfortunate voyage had not thrown a shade over so bright a prospect, we could scarcely render a reason why Guiana should not, at this time, have been as thoroughly known, and as completely settled by the English as Virginia.

Whatever might be pretended by the deep and cunning statesmen of that age, as that many things fabulous, and more uncertain, were related in Sir Walter's account; and that it was hazarding too much to send a large fleet, well

* Under the title of "The Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden City Manao, called by the Spaniards El Dorado, and performed in the year 1595, by Sir Walter Raleigh, imprinted at London by Robert Robinson, 4to. 1596."

manned, into so sickly a climate; whatever, I say, of this kind was pretended, as wise men will never want pretences, even when their passions incline them to do weak things; yet envy was certainly the true cause why his proposals were postponed at first, and afterwards, notwithstanding all his pressing solicitations, absolutely rejected.* Sir Walter, however, to shew his own entire confidence in this scheme, and perhaps with a view to make things so plain, that even his detractors should have nothing to object; fitted out two ships at his own expense, the *Delight* and the *Discoverer*; and sent them under Captain Kemys, who had served in the former enterprize to Guiana; as well to make farther inquiries, as, in some measure, to keep his word with the Indians, to whom he had promised, in the name of the queen his mistress, such assistance as might enable them to drive away the Spaniards, who were continually attempting rather to extirpate, than subdue them. This voyage Kemys successfully performed; and at his return, published such an account of his expedition † as might have converted to Sir Walter Raleigh's opinion of Guiana, all whom invincible ignorance or over-weening prejudice, had not destined to remain infidels.

The next important expedition in which we find Sir Walter engaged, was that famous one to Cadiz, wherein the earl of Essex and the Lord high admiral Howard were joint commanders; and Sir Walter Raleigh, with many other persons of great military skill and prudence, appointed of their council.‡ We have already given a general account of the nature and design of this expedition; and here therefore we shall dwell only on such particulars

* See Captain Kemys's Dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh.

† A relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in 1596, by Lawrence Kemys, Gent. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 672.

‡ Camden's Annals, p. 720.

as more immediately relate to the gentleman of whom we are speaking. The fleet sailed in the beginning of June 1596; and on the 20th of the same month, they arrived before Cadiz. The lord admiral's opinion was to attack and take the town first, that the English fleet might not be exposed to the fire of the ships in the port, and that of the city and forts adjacent, at the same time. The council of war, which he called upon this occasion, concurred with him in opinion, and so a resolution was taken instantly to attack the town. *

It so happened, that Sir Walter Raleigh was not at this council, and the earl of Essex was actually putting his men into boats, before Raleigh was acquainted with the design. As soon as he knew it, he went to the earl, and protested against it; offering such weighty reasons for their falling first on the galleons, and the ships in the harbour, that the earl was convinced of the necessity of doing it, and desired Sir Walter to dissuade the lord admiral from landing. Sir Walter undertook it; and prevailed with him to consent, that the fleet should first enter the port, and fall on the Spanish galleons and gallies. When he returned to the earl of Essex with the news, crying out aloud in his long boat, *Entramos*, the earl flung his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. Sir Walter gave the lord admiral a draught of the manner in which he thought best to begin the fight. Two great fly-boats were to board a galleon, after they had been sufficiently battered by the queen's ships of war; which being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the main body of the fleet; Raleigh, in the Wars-pight, had the command of the van, which was to enter the harbour; and consisted of the Mary Rose commanded by Sir George Carew, the Lion by Sir Robert Southwell,

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 184. Triumphs of Nassau, fol. 187. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 929.

the *Rainbow* by Sir Francis Vere, the *Swiftsure* by Capt. Cross, the *Dreadnought* by Sir Conyers Clifford, and the *Nonpareil* by Mr. Dudley. These were followed by the fly-boats and London hired ships, the *Lord Thomas Howard* leaving his own ship, the *Mere Honeur*, to go on board the *Nonpareil*. Yet the action did not commence that evening, because, being a matter of great importance, the council had not time to regulate the manner of it exactly. *

On the 22d of June, Sir Walter weighed anchor at break of day, and bore in toward the Spanish fleet, which had thus disposed itself to resist the attack. Seventeen galleies were ranged under the walls of the city, that they might the better flank the English ships as they entered, and hinder them from passing forward to the galleons. The artillery from Fort Philip played on the fleet, as did the cannon from the curtain of the town, and some culverins scoured the channel. When the Spanish admiral, the *St. Philip*, perceived the English approaching under sail; she also set sail, and with her the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Thomas*, the *St. Andrew*, the two great galeasses of Lisbon, three frigates, convoy to their Plate fleet from the Havannah, two argosies, very strong in artillery, the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of Nueva Espana, with forty other great ships bound for Mexico and other places. Of these, the *St. Philip*, the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Andrew*, and the *St. Thomas*, four capital ships, came again to anchor under the fort of Puntal, in the streight of the harbour which leads to Puerto Real. On the star-board side they placed the three frigates; behind them the two galeasses of Lisbon. The argosies, and the seventeen galleies, they posted to play on the English as they entered

* Sir Walter Raleigh's relation of this action at Cadiz, published by his grandson Philip Raleigh, Esq. at the end of an abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, 1700, 8vo. *Triumphs of Nassau*, and Purchas's *Pilgrims*, before cited.

the harbour; and, behind these, the admiral, vice-admiral, rear-admiral of New Spain, with the body of the fleet; hoping by this great strength to defend the entrance; their line reaching like a bridge over the streight, from point to point, and was guarded by the fort of Puntal. Sir Walter, in the van of the English, was saluted by Fort Philip, by the cannon on the curtain, and by all the gallies in good order. Raleigh scorned their fire, and answered with a flourish of trumpets, without discharging a gun. The ships that followed him beat so thick on the gallies, that they presently betook them to their oars, and got up to join the galleons in the streights. Sir Walter gave them several broadsides as they drove by him, and bore down on the St. Philip and St. Andrew, as more worthy of his fire. The Lord Thomas Howard came to an anchor by him; Sir Robert Southwell, in the Lion, did the same on the one side, and the Dreadnought and the Mary Rose on the other; the Rainbow lay on Puntal side; and thus they cannonaded each other for three hours. About ten o'clock the earl of Essex, impatient to hear the noise of the guns and to be himself out of action; made through the fleet, headed the ships on the larboard side of the Warspight, and anchored as near Sir Walter as possible. Raleigh kept always closest to the enemy, and stood single in the head of all. After they had played so long on the capital ships, Sir Walter went in his skiff to the admiral, desiring that the fly-boats which were promised him might come up, and then he would board the enemy; if not, he would board them with the queen's ship, it being the same to him whether he sunk or burnt, and one of them would certainly be his fate. The earl of Essex, and the Lord Thomas Howard, had assured him they would second him.*

After a long and desperate fight, Sir Walter despairing of the fly-boats, and depending on Lord Essex and Lord

* See the foregoing relations, and the voyage to Cadiz, in Hakluyt's Collection.

Thomas Howard's promises to assist him, prepared to board the Spanish admiral; which the latter no sooner perceived, than she, and the other capital ships following her example, ran ashore. The admiral and the St. Thomas they burnt; the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew were saved by the English boats before they took fire. The English were merciful after their victory; but, the Dutch, who did little or nothing in the fight, put all to the sword, till they were checked by the lord-admiral, and their cruelty restrained by Sir Walter Raleigh. The most remarkable circumstance in this whole affair, seems to be the disproportion between the English and Spanish force; there being but seven ships of the former against seventy-one of the latter. This great blow rendered the taking of the city, which followed it, the more easy; which, however, was performed rather by dint of valour than conduct, and with such an impetuosity, as did less honour to the officers than to the soldiers. Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom undoubtedly the chief honour of the naval victory was due, went ashore, though he was wounded, to have some share of this; but when he saw that all things were in confusion, he very wisely returned on board the fleet.*

The next morning, Sir Walter sent to the lord-admiral for orders to follow the Spanish West India fleet outward-bound, lying then in Puerto Real, where they could not escape him; but, in the hurry and confusion every one was in on the taking of the town, this opportunity was slipt, and no answer returned to his demand. In the afternoon, the merchants of Seville and Cadiz offered two millions to save those ships; and, while the bargain hung, the duke of Medina Sidonia caused all that rich fleet to be burnt; and, thus were all the galleons, gallies, frigates, argosies, and the fleets of New Spain, royal and trading, consumed;

* Camden, *Triumphs of Nassau*, Hakluyt's *Account of the Cadiz Voyage*, Vere's *Commentaries*, p. 39, and Sir Walter's own account before mentioned.

except the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew, which were in possession of the English. The town was very rich in merchandise and plate. Many wealthy prisoners were given to the land commanders, who were enriched by their ransom; some had ten, some sixteen, some twenty thousand ducats for their prisoners; others had houses and goods given them, and sold them to the owners for vast sums of money. Sir Walter got, to use his own words, "a lame leg and deformed; for the rest, he either spoke too late, or it was otherwise resolved; he wanted not good words, yet had possession of nought but poverty and pain."

In their return home they took Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve; and Essex proposed some other enterprizes, in which he was opposed, and the point carried against him by the concurring opinions of the chief land and sea officers. Yet, on his return, Essex published some remarks, or, as he calls them, objections in relation to this voyage; wherein, as Mr. Oldys well observes, and therein justly censures Sir Henry Wotton, the earl questions every body's conduct but his own. The queen, however, taking time to inform herself, made a right judgment of the whole affair; in consequence of which, she paid a due respect to every man's merit, and greater to none than to that of Sir Walter Raleigh. †

Immediately after his return, our hero bethought himself of his favourite project, the settling Guiana. In order to further discoveries which might effectually lead thereto, he sent a stout pinnace, well freighted with every thing necessary, under the command of Captain Leonard Berrie, which safely arrived there in the month of March, 1597; and, having entered into a friendly commerce with the inhabitants of the coast, and learned from them very particular accounts of the present state and riches of the higher

* Camden, Vere's Commentaries, p. 42, and Sir Walter's relation.

† Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 106.

country, they returned again to the port of Plymouth the 28th of June following. This expedition seems to be an indubitable proof of two things : first, that Sir Walter himself was in earnest in this discovery ; otherwise there can be no cause assigned, why, having so many matters of importance upon his hands, he should yet busy himself in an undertaking of this kind. Secondly, that Sir Walter's hopes were as well founded as it was possible for a man's to be, in a thing of this nature, since the account given us of this voyage is such an one as is liable to no just objections. *

The next public service wherein we meet with Sir Walter Raleigh, is that called The Island Voyage, of which we have also given a copious account formerly. In this undertaking, of which we have as full and clear memorials as of any in the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, it very plainly appears, that Essex had the command, and Raleigh the abilities ; which was the true reason why the former acquired so little honour, and the latter so much ; though, with a less jealous commander, he had certainly attained more. Their disputes began early. A misfortune fell out in Raleigh's ship, in the Bay of Biscay, which obliged him to lay behind the fleet ; and, afterwards, when this accident was repaired, and he came to the rock of Lisbon, he met with a large number of ships and tenders, which were by him conducted to the Azores. This signal service the creatures of Essex, by a sort of logic in which they were well practised, construed into an high offence ; for, they pretended, that these vessels had quitted the general, to wait on the rear-admiral ; but, Sir Walter having convinced the earl, that these ships came to the rock of Lisbon as the rendezvous appointed by himself ; and that he finding them there, had brought them, as became him, to attend upon his lordship, Essex had sense

* See the relation of this voyage by Mr. Thomas Masham, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 692.

enough to be pacified for that time: * but, soon after, things went wrong again. It was agreed in a council of war, that the general and Sir Walter Raleigh should land jointly on the island of Fayal, where Raleigh waited four days for his lordship; and hearing nothing of him, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, by such as were less concerned for Essex's honour than the nation's glory, that Sir Walter should attempt by himself, what it was settled they should jointly have performed. This resolution he executed, and shewed therein as much personal courage as any private soldier, and all the conduct that could be expected from a very wise and experienced commander; so that we need not wonder he met with success, and did all that he designed. Essex, on his arrival, forgot the public service, and thought of nothing but his own private disgrace; which vexed him so much, that he broke some of the officers who had behaved gallantly under Raleigh; and some talk there was of trying him, and taking off his head; but, at last, by the mediation of Lord Thomas Howard, who was vice-admiral, and Sir Walter's condescending to excuse his having done so much, before his lordship did any thing, matters were made up once again. The cashiered officers were restored; Raleigh returned to his care of the public service; and Essex proceeded in his mistakes. † In consequence of these, they missed the West India fleet, though Raleigh had the good luck to take some prizes, the produce of which paid his men; so that he lost neither credit nor money by the voyage. On his return, though Essex is said to have found means to throw the miscarriage of all his pompous promises on inevitable accidents, with the mob, and some

* See the accurate relation of all that passed in this voyage, by Sir Arthur Gorges, in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1938.

† See an excellent account of this affair by Sir Walter himself, in his History of the World, b. v. c. i. sec. 9, and in the before mentioned relation.

of his creatures imputed them to Sir Walter ; yet these accusations would not pass with the queen, who shewed Raleigh more favour than ever ; even though he took less pains to vindicate himself, and testified more respect for the great earl than perhaps any other man would have done. *

The next year, we find him again in parliament, where he distinguished himself, by uniting what of late have been thought opposite characters, the patriot and the servant of the crown ; but which he shewed to be very consistent. By his interest with the queen, he procured some griping projects to be discountenanced ; by his weight in the house, he promoted supplies ; he also obtained some indulgencies for the tinnors in Cornwall, and shewed himself upon all occasions a ready and a rational advocate for the poor. In 1599, when the queen was pleased to fit out, in the space of a fortnight, so great a navy as struck her neighbours with awe ; Sir Walter was appointed vice-admiral ; which honour, though he enjoyed it but for a single month, yet was a high mark of the queen's confidence ; since, at that time, she was no less apprehensive of stirs at home, than of an invasion from abroad. In 1600, the queen was pleased to send Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh to the Dutch ; and, after conferring with Prince Maurice of Nassau, Sir Walter returned again about the middle of the year ; and, a little after, he was by the queen made governor of the island of Jersey ; but, she reserved three hundred pounds a year out of that government to be disposed of as she thought fit. †

His next great service was against Essex, in his insurrection in the February following. It would be a great deal beside our purpose to enter into a long detail of that perplexed affair. Let it suffice then that we observe, after

* See Sir Arthur Gorges's account before referred to. Vere's Commentaries, p. 65, 66, 67.

† Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 126—130.

a due comparison of what contemporary writers have left us of this matter, that Lord Essex was his own enemy, and that he brought Sir Walter's name upon the carpet to screen his own designs. He gave out, that the cause of his arming was to defend himself against his personal enemies, pretending that Cobham and Raleigh had contrived a scheme to assassinate him ; whereas Sir Christopher Blount had in truth made a proposal of this sort to Essex, with respect to Raleigh ; and, when this was judged impracticable, advised the propagating the other story to colour their proceedings, as himself confessed. When the mischief broke out, Sir Walter did his duty, and no more than his duty. Some, indeed, have reported, that after the earl of Essex was condemned, he pressed the queen to sign a warrant for his execution, and that he shewed a particular pleasure in beholding his death ; which, however, is not strictly true ; for, though he had placed himself near the scaffold before the earl appeared ; yet he removed from thence before his death, because the people seemed to take his appearance there in a wrong light : but this he afterwards repented ; because, when the earl came to die, he expressed a great desire to have seen and spoken to him, from a foresight of which Sir Walter Raleigh had taken that post.

The point of fact, as to his sentiments upon this subject, has been effectually cleared since the publishing this work, by the appearance of the following letter, from Sir Walter Raleigh's original, now in the collection of manuscripts belonging to the right honourable the earl of Salisbury, and printed by Dr. Murdin. It makes no great alteration in respect to what was before asserted ; since Sir Walter, though he avowed a very high personal friendship for Sir Robert Cecil, yet at the same time established his advice on his concern for the queen's safety. In this, which is a little strange, he had the earl of Essex's concurrence, who declared to the preacher sent to attend, and to worm out

his secrets, in prison, that the queen could never be safe while he lived. But to come to the letter, thus it runs :

“ SIR,

“ I am not wise enough to give you advice ; but, if you
“ take it for a good counsel to relent towards this tyrant,
“ you will repent it when it shall be too late. His malice
“ is fixt, and will not evaporate by any of your mild
“ courses ; for he will ascribe the alteration to her ma-
“ jesty’s pusillanimity, and not to your good-nature ;
“ knowing that you work but upon her humour, and not
“ out of any love towards him. The less you make him,
“ the less he shall be able to harm you and yours. And,
“ if her majesty’s favour faile him, he will againe decline
“ to a common person. For after-revenges fear them
“ not : for your own father, that was esteemed to be the
“ contriver of Norfolk’s ruin, yet his son followeth your
“ father’s son, and loveth him. Humours of men succeed
“ not, but grow by occasions, and accidents of time and
“ power. Somerset made no revenge on the duke of
“ Northumberland’s hearers. Northumberland that now
“ is, thinks not of Hatton’s issue. Kelloway lives that
“ murdered the brother of Horsey, and Horsey let him go
“ by all his life-time. I could name you a thousand of
“ those ; and, therefore, after-fears are but prophecies, or
“ rather conjectures from causes remote. Look to the
“ present, and you do wisely. His son shall be the
“ youngest earl of England but one ; and, if his father be
“ now kept down, Will Cecil shall be able to keep as
“ many men at his heels as he, and more too. He may
“ also matche in a better house than his, and so that fear
“ is not worth the fearing. But, if the father continue,
“ he will be able to break the branches, and pull up the
“ tree root and all. Lose not your advantage ; if you do,
“ I note your destiny.

“ Let the queen hold Bothwell while she hath him.
“ He will ever be the canker of her estate and saulty.

“ Princes are lost by security, and preserved by prevention. I have seen the last of her good days, and all ours, after his libertye.

“ Yours, &c. W. R.” *

Sir W. R. to Sir R. C. 1601.

There is nothing more shrewd and sensible in this letter than the giving Essex the name of Bothwell. This singular person was, in a bastard line, the grandson of James V. king of Scots. He came to the court of King James, then reigning, by the name of Captain Francis Stuart, grew into favour, was created earl of Bothwell, and made lord-high-admiral of Scotland. He was not only a person of boundless arrogance and ambition, but of so restless and unruly a spirit, that he kept the king and kingdom in continual confusion. He was forfeited over and over; but, by his factious connection with some of the nobility, was as often recalled and pardoned. He surprised and forced the royal palace of Holy-Rood-House; he had invested the castle of Falkland; he had entered, sword in hand, into the king's bed-chamber, and took him out in his shirt, but eight years before, and all this purely from a spirit of dominion, and contempt of his master's ministers; which facts, then recent and notorious, must occur to Cecil's remembrance on reading his name. †

It is evident, that Sir Walter, by this admonition, meant to confirm Sir Robert Cecil in his design to crush Essex absolutely; but, whether it clearly dissuades the sparing his life, the reader may judge. Raleigh's own life had been in great danger; which was the reason, when Sir Christopher Blount came to die, he actually begged Sir Walter's pardon, and confessed the wrong that had been

* Murdin's State Papers, p. 811.

† Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 394, 395, 402, 407, 409. Moyse's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 139, 154, 155, 179, 188, 206, 237. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 95, 440, 487.

done him, in the reports spread to inflame the populace. Yet it is certain, that even this confession did not quash such reports; but from this time forward Raleigh had more enemies than ever; and, which was worse, the queen's successor was prejudiced against him, by such accounts as were transmitted to him in Scotland. *

It is not at all impossible, that those artful statesmen, who had so much address as to make the populace then, and, by employing the pen of a learned historian, the world in general now believe, they were seconds only in these quarrels, and Essex and Raleigh principals, hated both alike, and contrived to make them ruin each other; by inflaming Essex against Raleigh first, which induced him to write in his prejudice to King James, with whom, by the hands of Mr. Anthony Bacon, he kept a constant correspondence; and after bringing him to the block, allowing the truth of those informations, that they might run no hazard, in a new reign, from Sir Walter Raleigh's abilities. The conjecture is rendered probable enough from the whole thread of the relation; nor would it be a very hard task to prove it was really so, from incontestible authorities. So easy it is, in courts, for malice and cunning to get the better of courage and sense.

In the summer of the year 1601, he attended the queen in her progress; and, on the arrival of the duke de Biron, as ambassador from France, he received him, by her majesty's appointment, and conferred with him on the subject of his embassy. In the last parliament of the queen, Sir Walter was a very active member, and distinguished himself upon all occasions, by opposing such bills as, under colour of deep policy, were contrived for the oppression of the meaner sort of people; such as that for compelling every man to till a third part of his ground, and others of a like nature. Nor was he less ready to

* Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, 133—139.

countenance such laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon traders; where it was evident, that private interest clashed with public benefit, and there was a necessity of hurting some, for the sake of doing good to all. This shews that he had a just notion of popularity, and knew how to distinguish between deserving and desiring it. An instance of this appeared in his promoting a law for the restraining the exportation of ordnance, which, at that time, was of mighty advantage to such as were concerned in that commerce, but of inexpressible detriment to the nation; because it was the source of the enemy's power at sea, the Spanish navy making use of none but English cannon.

In the point of monopolies, indeed, he was not altogether so clear; but he shewed that he made a moderate use of the grants he had obtained from the crown, and offered, if others were cancelled, to surrender his freely. *

Upon the demise of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter was not without hopes of coming into favour with her successor, whose countenance he had sought by various presents, and other testimonies of respect, which he sent into Scotland; and from the reception they met with, he had no reason at all to suspect that he stood upon ill terms with King James. † He was not ignorant, however, of the pains taken by Essex, to infuse into the king's mind prejudices against him; which, however, he thought to wear out by assiduous service. On the king's coming into England, he had, notwithstanding common reports, frequent access to him; and thereby an opportunity of discovering both his desire and his capacity of serving his majesty. But he quickly found himself coolly treated, nor was he long at a loss for the reason. Sir Robert Cecil,

* Heyward Townshend's Collections, and Sir Simonds D'Ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments.

† Dr. Peter Helyn's Examen Historicum, p. 170. A Brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles, p. 1.

who had been his friend and associate, so long as they were both in danger from Essex, foreseeing that, if ever Raleigh came into King James's confidence, his administration would not last long; drew such a character of him to that prince, as he thought most likely to disgust him; and dwelt particularly upon this, that Raleigh was a martial man, and would be continually forming projects to embarrass him with his neighbours. * Sir Walter, in return for this good office, did him another; for he drew up a memorial, wherein he shewed plainly, that the affection of the Cecils for his majesty was not the effect of choice, but of force; that in reality, it was chiefly through the intrigues of one of that family, his mother lost her head; and that they never thought of promoting his succession, till they saw it would take place in spite of them. † This memorial was far from having the effect he expected; nor indeed would he have expected it, if he had known King James thoroughly. That timorous prince saw the power of Cecil at that time, and thought he had need of it, forgetting that it was the effect of his own favour; and so became dependent upon him, as he afterwards was upon Buckingham, whom for many years he trusted, but did not love. ‡ This, with his aversion from all martial enterprises, engaged him to turn a deaf ear to Sir Walter's proposals, and perhaps to do more than this, if we are so just to Cecil as to suppose, that he did not afterwards persecute Raleigh without a cause, I mean without personal offence given to him. However it was, Raleigh had the mortification to see himself, notwithstanding the pains he

* Baker's Chronicle. Osborne's Memorials of the Reign of King James, &c.

† See Dr. Welwood's Notes on Arthur Wilson's History of King James, as it is printed in Dr. Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. ii. p. 663, 664.

‡ See the earl of Bristol's answer to the articles of high treason, exhibited against him in parliament, printed in Frankland's Annals of King James and King Charles, p. 127, 128, 129.

had taken, slighted and ill used at court; and this might probably determine him to keep company with some who were in the same situation, and who were his intimate acquaintance before; which, however, proved his ruin. *

Among these companions of his was Lord Cobham, a man of a weak head, but a large fortune; over whom Raleigh had a great ascendancy, and with whom he lived in constant correspondence. This man, who was naturally vain, and now much discontented, had an intercourse with various sorts of people, and talked to each in such a style as he thought would be most agreeable to them. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth he had conferred with the duke of Aremberg, a Flemish nobleman in the king of Spain's service, and who was now in England, as ambassador from the arch-duke; but, in truth, with a view to negociate a peace with Spain. With him Cobham renewed his acquaintance; and in his name proposed giving Sir Walter a large sum of money, if, instead of opposing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward that peace. † In the mean time, some popish priests, and other disaffected and designing persons, had framed a plot against the king and royal family, which was to be executed by seizing, if not destroying, his majesty and his children; and with some of these people Cobham also had an intercourse, by the means of his brother, Mr. Brooke. This last treason being discovered, and traced to the persons we have just mentioned, there grew a suspicion of Cobham; and, in consequence of his intimacy with Raleigh, there arose some doubts also as to him. Upon this, they were all apprehended; and Cobham, who was a timorous man, was drawn in to charge Sir Walter with several things in his confession. ‡ The enemies of Raleigh contrived to blend these treasons together; though they, or

* See Oldy's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 152, 153.

† Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 97.

‡ See the whole proceedings, in the first volume of State Trials.

at least Cecil, knew them to be distinct things; and so he states them in a letter to Mr. Winwood, wherein he shews his dislike to Sir Walter Raleigh, and his sense, at the same time, of the want of any real evidence which might affect him; however, what was deficient in proof was made up in force and fraud. The priests, Watson and Clerk, were first tried and convicted; so was Mr. George Brooke, who had been their associate; and on the 17th of November, 1603, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried at Winchester, and convicted of high treason, by the influence of the court, and the bawling Billingsgate eloquence of the attorney-general Coke, without any colour of evidence. * This is that treason which was so justly slighted in his days, and which has so much perplexed ours.

That there was really no truth in what was alledged against Sir Walter, may be proved to a demonstration, if we consider, that all the evidence that was ever pretended, in relation to his knowledge of the surprizing treason or plot to seize the king and his family, was the hearsay testimony of George Brooke, that his brother Cobham should say, "That it would never be well till the fox and cubs were taken off;" and afterwards, speaking to this Brooke, "That he, Lord Grey, and others, were only on the bye, but Raleigh and himself were on the main;" intimating, that they were only trusted with lesser matters, but that the capital scheme, before mentioned, was concerted between him and Sir Walter. † Yet, when Brooke came to die, as he did deservedly; upon his own confession, he recalled and retracted this circumstance, owning, that he never heard his brother make use of that phrase about the fox and cubs; ‡ which takes away, con-

* Lord Cecil's Letter to Mr. Winwood, in Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 8. Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 157.

† See Sir Thomas Overbury's copy of Sir Walter's Arraignment, p. 12.

‡ Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 8.

sequently, the credit of that other story grounded upon it; and this we have upon the best authority that can be, that of Lord Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury, himself, who commends Brooke, for shewing this remorse in his last moments. * Thus, out of his capital enemy's mouth, I have proved the innocence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who constantly and judiciously, at his trial, distinguished between the surprising treason, and the conferences with Aremberg. The former, he denied the least knowledge of; but, as to the latter, owned that Cobham had talked to him of a large present, in case he would be for a peace with Spain; and complained of the hardship of dying, for having once heard a vain man say a few idle things. †

Though the law made no distinction between Sir Walter Raleigh and the rest who were involved in this treason, yet the king made a great deal; for he never signed any warrant for his execution; ‡ but, on the contrary, projected that strange tragi-comedy, of bringing the two lords, Cobham and Grey, with Sir Griffin Markham, to the block, and then granting them a reprieve, purely to discover the truth of what Cobham had alledged against Raleigh, and what might be drawn by the apprehension of death from the other two.§ As all this brought forth nothing, the king laid aside all thoughts of taking away his life; and, if Raleigh laboured some time under an uncertainty of this, it ought to be attributed rather to the malice of his potent adversaries, than to any ill intention in the king, of which I discern no signs; and of the contrary to which Sir Walter himself in his letters, seems to be positive. Neither do I say this with any view of excusing King James, but purely out of respect to truth; and that it may appear how dangerous a thing it is to live under a

* In the before-cited letter of Lord Cecil to Mr. Winwood.

† Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 101, 106.

‡ Stowe's Annals, p. 831.

§ Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 11. Raleigh's Remains, p. 192.

prince who suffers himself to be absolutely directed by his ministers, since not only the vices of such a monarch are destructive, but even his virtues become useless.

As there seems to be a desire in the present age to know the certainty of things, without resting in that scrupulous report of facts, which cautious historians, from a strict regard to truth, are inclined to deliver; it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader, in few words, with what seems to be the reality of this mysterious business. Lord Cobham, in the preceding reign, had been connived at in carrying on a correspondence with one Lorenzi or Laurencia, a Flemish merchant at Antwerp, who was at this time in England; and through him Cobham corresponded with the duke of Aremberg. It is not my conjecture, but that of those who lived in these times, that it was this man disclosed the secret to Sir Robert Cecil, probably by Aremberg's direction; who thought this was the surest way of ruining Raleigh, and that the shortest method of coming at a peace. When Sir Walter was arrested, he saw his danger, but had no apprehension of his accuser; and therefore, in hopes of disentangling himself, directed Sir Robert Cecil by letter, where to find Lorenzi and Lord Cobham. It was the shewing this letter, that provoked Cobham to accuse Raleigh so deeply; but, at the same time it is a proof of Sir Walter's innocence, of any thing more than that Cobham had corresponded with Aremberg; for if there had been any veracity in Cobham's charge, instead of giving up that lord and Lorenzi, Sir Walter Raleigh would, in reality, have been furnishing two witnesses against himself. The naked truth then seems to be, that the duke considered the plot as an idle, impracticable undertaking; but, at the same time, judged that he should render a very acceptable service to his court, in thus getting Sir Walter Raleigh involved in it; and in this light King James and his ministers seem afterwards to have considered it. There is no great doubt,

that this heightened Sir Walter's hate to the Spaniards, which subsisted with the like force in them against him; till Count Gondomar, pursuing Duke Aremburg's blow, brought this unfortunate gentleman to the block. On many accounts, therefore, this treason might be styled, as it was in those times, *RALEIGH'S RIDDLE*; but in nothing more so than in this, that by the arts of two Spanish ministers, the most inveterate enemy of Spain was brought to an untimely end, for having, as it was pretended, entered into a correspondence with Spain against a prince, who had seen through the whole contrivance so many years before he put him to death. *

In the month of December, Raleigh was remanded to the Tower; and, upon the petition of his wife, was allowed the consolation of her company, and by degrees obtained still greater favours; for the king was pleased to grant all the goods and chattels forfeited to him by Sir Walter's conviction, to trustees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors, and of his lady and children. † In a reasonable time, his estate followed his goods; and now he began to conceive himself in a fair way of being restored to that condition from which he had fallen. In this, however, he was much mistaken; for a new court favourite arising, who had a mind to enrich himself by such kind of grants, he discovered a flaw in the conveyance of Raleigh's estate to his son; which, being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was understood to be therein, when the forfeiture was granted back to Raleigh. Upon an information in the court of exchequer, judgment was given for the crown;

* Winwood's Memorials, p. 8. Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 31—41. Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 74—97. Dr. Heylin's Examen Historicum, p. 169—172. Osborne's Works, vol. ii. p. 107. Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. i. p. 9. State Trials, vol. i. p. 212.

† Rymer's Foedera, tom. xvi. p. 596.

and the effect of that judgment was turned to the benefit of the favourite; who, in 1609, had a complete grant of all that Sir Walter had forfeited. * This courtier was Sir Robert Carr, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of earl of Somerset; to whom Sir Walter wrote an excellent letter, wherein he stated the hardship of his own case without bitterness; expostulated freely, and yet inoffensively, about the wrong done him; and entreated the favourite's compassion without any unbecoming condescension. † All this, however, signified nothing; Sir Walter lost his estate, but not his hopes.

He spent a great part of his confinement in writing that shining and immortal monument of his parts and learning, *THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD*; wherein he has shewn that he consulted the wise rule of Horace, and fixed upon such a subject as suited with his genius, and under which, if we may guess from former and subsequent attempts, any genius but his must have sunk. He likewise devoted a part of his time to chymistry, to rational and useful chymistry; wherein he was no less successful, discovering that noble medicine in malignant fevers, which bears the name of his cordial, though I think it is now doubtful whether the true receipt of it be preserved or not. ‡ Besides these, he turned his thoughts on various other subjects, all beneficial to mankind, and in that light worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh. Of these treatises many are printed; some are still preserved in MS.; and not a few, I doubt, are lost. The patron of his studies was Prince Henry, the glory of the house of Stuart; the

* A Brief Relation of Sir Walter's Troubles, p. 7.

† Printed from a MS. in Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 165.

‡ See an excellent and copious account of his writings, in the Life before cited. Dr. Quincy, in his Dispensary, p. 445, 446, of the eleventh edition, seems to undervalue this medicine, chiefly on account of the number of ingredients; but Mr. Oldys shews, in his Life of Sir Walter, p. 169, that great liberties have been taken with this receipt, and the number of ingredients much heightened by physicians.

darling of the British nation while he lived; and the object of its sincere and universal lamentation by his untimely death. After his demise, Sir Walter depended chiefly upon the queen, in whom he found a true and steady protectress while the earl of Somerset's power lasted, whose hate was chiefly detrimental to Raleigh; for the king trusted him now, as he had Salisbury before, with implicit confidence, even after he had lost his affection: but he, by an intemperate use of his authority, having rendered himself obnoxious to the law, Sir Walter saw him his companion in the Tower, and his estates, by that favourite's forfeiture, once more in the hands of the crown.* His enemies thus out of the court, Sir Walter was able to obtain the favour he had been long seeking, which was, after thirteen years confinement, to get out of the Tower; not to lead a lazy and indolent life in retirement, for which, though cruelly spoiled by his enemies, he yet wanted not a reasonable provision; but to spend the latter part of his days as he had spent the first, in the pursuit of honour and in the service of his country; or, as he himself has with great dignity expressed it in a letter to secretary Winwood, by whose interest chiefly this favour was obtained; "To die for the KING, and not by the KING, is all the ambition I have in the world."†

The scheme he had now at heart was his old one of settling Guiana; a scheme worthy of him, and which, as he first wisely contrived, so he as constantly prosecuted. We have seen how many voyages he encouraged thither in the days of Queen Elizabeth; when, considering the many great employments he enjoyed, one would have thought his mind might have been otherwise occupied; and indeed,

* Prince Henry endeavoured to obtain it for him: at last Sir Walter had 8000*l.* for it, as he tells us in his apology, p. 47.

† Raleigh's Remains, p. 164. He had said the same before in regard to Queen Elizabeth. See his letter to Sir Robert Cecil in Murdin's Collection of State Papers, p. 657.

so it must have been, if he had not been thoroughly persuaded, and that too upon the best evidence in the world, his own eye-sight and judgment, that this was the richest country on the globe, and the worthiest of being settled for the benefit of Britain. This persuasion was so strong upon him, that during his confinement he held a constant intercourse with Guiana; sending at his own charge every year, or every second year, a ship to keep the Indians in hopes of his performing the promise he had made them, of coming to their assistance, and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards, who now encroached upon them again. In these ships were brought over several natives of that country, with whom Sir Walter conversed in the Tower; and from whom, questionless, he received the clearest and most distinct intelligence of the situation and richness of the mines that he could possibly desire.* Upon these informations he offered the scheme for prosecuting his discovery to the court, three years before he undertook it in person; nor was there then any doubt either as to the probability of the thing, or as to its lawfulness; notwithstanding the peace made with Spain, otherwise the king would not have made such grants as he even did at that time; which shews that he was then convinced Sir Walter had in his first voyage discovered and taken possession of that country for the crown of England; and that, consequently, his subjects were justly entitled to any benefits that might accrue from this discovery, without the least respect had to the pretensions of the Spaniards.† It may also deserve our notice, that, at the time Sir Walter first moved the court upon this subject, the Spanish match was not thought of; but the wants of King James were then very pressing, and he may reasonably be presumed to have at this time placed as great hopes in this

* Raleigh's Apology, p. 52, 55.

† See Harcourt's Voyage to Guiana, 4to. 1613.

discovery as he did in that match; though, when he came to idolize this project afterwards, he grew somewhat out of conceit with Sir Walter's; so that, if he had pleased, he might, for seven hundred pounds, have had an ample pardon, and leave to relinquish his voyage; but he remaining firm to his purpose, and the king feeling his necessities daily increasing, was yet willing that he should proceed in his enterprize, in hopes of profiting thereby, without losing the prospect he then had of concluding the Spanish match. Such was the situation of Sir Walter, and such the disposition of the court, when he obtained leave to execute his design; and was empowered by a royal commission, but at the expense of himself and his friends, to settle Guiana.*

It has been a great dispute, among writers too of some eminence, what sort of a commission that was with which Sir Walter was trusted. According to some, it should have been under the great seal of England, and directed, To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Walter Raleigh, knight;† according to others, and indeed according to the account given by King James himself, it was under the privy-seal, and without those expressions of trust or grace.‡ To end this dispute, I have consulted the most authentic collection we have of public instruments, and there I find a large commission to Sir Walter Raleigh, which agrees with that in the declaration,§ and is dated the twenty-sixth of August, in the fourteenth year of the king's reign over England, and over Scotland the fiftieth. It is likewise said to be *per breve de privato sigillo*; yet I think that it is not impossible it might pass both seals;

* Camden's Annals of King James, A.D. 1615, 1617.

† Coke's Detection of the Four Last Reigns, p. 85. Rapin's History of England, and Tindal's Notes.

‡ See a declaration of the demeanour and carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, as well in his Voyage, &c. 4to. 1618, p. 4.

§ Rymer's Fœdera, tome xvi. p. 789.

and I apprehend the conjecture is warranted by an expression in one of Sir Walter's letters.* However, the commission was certainly a legal commission; and, though the formal expressions of grace and trust are omitted; yet, the powers granted him are very extensive in themselves, and as strongly drawn as words can express; so that Sir Walter had all the reason imaginable to conceive, that this patent implied a pardon. By one clause he is constituted general and commander in chief in this enterprize. By another he is appointed governor of the new country he is to settle; and this with ample authority. By a third he has a power rarely intrusted with our admirals now, that of exercising martial law in such a manner as the king's lieutenant-general by sea or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of England had. It is impossible, therefore, to conceive, that, when this commission was granted, Sir Walter Raleigh was looked upon as a condemned man, or that the lords of the privy-council, or the lord privy-seal, could think it reasonable for the king to grant such full power over the lives of others to one who had but a precarious title to his own; and therefore I think, that Sir Francis Bacon's opinion, when Sir Walter consulted him whether it would not be advisable for him to give a round sum of money for a pardon in common form, answered like an honest man and a sound lawyer; "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular; for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under his broad seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers."†

It is now time for us to inquire what force this gentleman had when he sailed upon this expedition; for it

* Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 193.

† Howel's Letters, vol. ii. p. 371.

appears clearly by the king's commission, that the whole expense of the undertaking was to be defrayed by him and his friends; which shews how sincere Sir Walter must have been in this matter, especially if we consider that he vested his whole fortune therein; and even prevailed upon his wife to sell her estate at Mitcham for the promoting this design, in the issue of which he interested also all his friends; and how extensive his influence in this kind was, the following list of his fleet will sufficiently inform us. First, then, was the Admiral, a fine, new, stout ship, built by Raleigh himself, called the *Destiny*, of the burden of four hundred and forty tons, and carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon. On board it were Sir Walter Raleigh, general, and his son Walter, captain, besides two hundred men, whereof eighty were gentlemen-volunteers and adventurers, most of them Sir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards increased. Second, the *Jason* of London, two hundred and forty tons, and twenty-five pieces of ordnance, Captain John Pennington, vice-admiral, eighty men, one gentleman and no more. Third, the *Encounter*, 160 tons, seventeen pieces of ordnance, Edward Hastings, captain; no man more, except the master, mentioned; but he, dying in the Indies, was succeeded in the command by Captain Whitney. Fourth, the *Thunder*, one hundred and fifty tons, twenty pieces of ordnance, Sir Warham Sentleger, captain, six gentlemen, sixty soldiers, and ten land-men. Fifth, the *Flying Joan*, one hundred and twenty tons, fourteen pieces of ordnance, John Chidley, captain, twenty-five men. Sixth, the *Southampton*, eighty tons, six pieces of ordnance, John Bayly, captain, twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the *Page*, a pinnace, twenty-five tons, three rabnets of brass, James Barker, captain, eight sailors. But before Raleigh left the coast of England, he was joined by as many ships more; so that his whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, beside his own ship. And,

though we cannot be so particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it; that one ship, named the *Convertine*, was commanded by Captain Keymis; another, called the *Confidence*, was under the charge of Captain Woolaston; there was a shallop, named the *Flying Hart*, under Sir John Ferne; two fly-boats, under Captain Samuel King and Captain Robert Smith, and a caravel, with another named the *Chudley*, besides.*

With part of this fleet Sir Walter sailed from the Thames on the 28th of March, 1617; but it was the month of July before he left Plymouth with his whole fleet; after which, he was forced to put into Cork through stress of weather, and remained there till the 19th of August. On the sixth of September, he made the Canaries, where he obtained some refreshments, and an ample certificate from the governor, that he had behaved with great justice and equity. Thence he proceeded to Guiana, where he arrived in the beginning of November. He was received with the utmost joy by the Indians, who not only rendered him all the service that could be expected from them, but would have persuaded him to end all his labours by remaining there, and taking upon him the sovereignty of their country; which, however, he refused. His extreme sickness hindered him from undertaking the discovery of the mine in person; and obliged him to intrust that important service to Captain Keymis. For this purpose, he ordered, on the fourth of December, five small ships to sail into the river *Oronoque*; aboard these five vessels were five companies of fifty men each; the first commanded by Captain Parker, the second by Captain North, the third by Mr. Raleigh, the fourth by Captain Prideaux, the fifth by Captain Chudley; † Keymis, who was to conduct them, intended to have gone to the

* Oldys's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 197.

† Raleigh's *Apology for his Voyage to Guiana*, p. 26.

mine with only eight persons, which Sir Walter thought too great a hazard, and therefore wrote him the following letter.

“ KEYMIS, whereas you were resolved, after your
“ arrival into the Oronoque, to pass to the mine with my
“ cousin Herbert and six musqueteers, and to that end
“ desired to have Sir John Ferne’s shallop; I do not
“ allow of that course; because you cannot land so secretly
“ but that some Indians on the river side may discover
“ you, who giving knowledge thereof to the Spaniards,
“ you may be cut off before you recover your boat. I
“ therefore advise you to suffer the captains and com-
“ panies of the English, to pass up westward of the
“ mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than
“ three miles to the mine, and to encamp between the
“ Spanish town and you, if there is any town near it;
“ that, being so secured, you may make trial what depth
“ and breadth the mine holds, or whether or no it will
“ answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, and the
“ Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the serjeant-
“ major repel them, if it is in his power, and drive them
“ as far as he can: but if you find the mine is not so rich
“ as to persuade the holding of it, and it requires a second
“ supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two, to
“ satisfy his majesty that my design was not imaginary,
“ but true, though not answerable to his majesty’s expect-
“ tation; for the quantity of which I never gave assurance,
“ nor could. On the other side, if you shall find any
“ great number of soldiers are newly sent into the Oro-
“ noque, as the Cassique of Caliana told us there were,
“ and that the passages are already enforced, so as without
“ manifest peril of my son, yourself, and the other cap-
“ tains, you cannot pass toward the mine; then be well
“ advised how you land, for I know, that a few gentlemen
“ excepted, what a scum of men you have; and I would

“ not, for all the world, receive a blow from the Spaniards
 “ to the dishonour of the nation.” †

In obedience to this order, Captain Keymis landed his men in the night, somewhat nearer the mine than he intended. They presently found the Spaniards had notice of their coming, and were prepared to receive them. They shot at the English both with their great and small arms; and the Spaniards being the aggressors, the English landed; drove them to the town; entered it with them; and plundered it. Mr. Raleigh, the general's son, was killed in the action; he himself staid at Trinidad, with the other ships, resolving rather to burn than yield, had the Spanish armada attacked him. Captain Kemys made up the river with his vessels; but in most places near the mine he could not get within a mile of the shore, the river was so shallow; and where they could have made a descent, volleys of musket shot came from the woods on their boats; and Keymis did not proceed to the mine, saying in his excuse, that the English could not defend St. Thomas, the town they had taken; that the passages to the mine were thick and impassable woods; and that supposing they had discovered the mine, they had no men to work it. For these reasons, he concluded it was best not to open it at all. The Spaniards themselves had several gold and silver mines near the town, which were useless for want of negroes. * At Kemys's return, Raleigh told him he had undone him, and wounded his credit with the king past recovery; which reproach affected him so deeply, that he went into his cabin, from whence soon after the report of a pistol was heard. Upon a boy's going in, and asking whether he knew whence it proceeded? he said he fired it himself, because it had been

* Raleigh's Apology for his Voyage to Guiana, p. 21.

† See Raleigh's Letter to his Lady in his Remains, p. 178. See also his Apology, and Camden's Annals of the Reign of King James.

long charged. About two hours after he was found dead, with a great deal of blood under him; and upon search it was discovered he had first shot himself, and, the wound not proving mortal, he had thrust a knife after the ball.* Sir Walter, when he heard his son was slain, said, that he mattered not the losing of a hundred men, so his reputation had been saved. He was afraid of incurring the king's displeasure, and with grief and sickness brought very low in his health. He is blamed for not going up the river himself, which his indisposition would not suffer him to do. Nine weeks was Keymis searching the river, all which time his master staid at Punta de Gallo, nearer death than life: yet the misfortunes and disappointments he met with did not alter his resolution of returning home, though several of his men were for landing and settling themselves at Newfoundland; others were for going to Holland; but the major part of his company were of his own opinion, to come back to England, happen what would: so, rather like a prisoner than general, he arrived with his leaky ships, first at Kinsale in Ireland, and then at Plymouth. †

Immediately after his coming to Ireland, a proclamation issued, setting forth the king's disapprobation of Sir Walter's conduct; and requiring such as were acquainted with any particulars, relating either to his scheme or to his practices, should give information of them to the council. This proclamation was dated the 11th of June; ‡ and though it pretends to refer to Sir Walter's commission, yet it plainly mentions things which are not to be found there. In the beginning of the month of July, Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, and hearing of this proclamation, resolved to surrender himself; but, as he was on the road

* See Raleigh's Apology, p. 39, and Howel's Letters.

† Raleigh's Apology, and King James's Declaration.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xvii. p. 92.

to London,* he was met by Sir Lewis Stucley, vice-admiral of Devonshire, and his own kinsman, whom the court had made choice of to bring him up a prisoner.† This man appears to have acted very deceitfully; for he either suggested, or at least encouraged, a design Sir Walter had framed for making his escape, and when he had so done, he basely betrayed him. It was then objected to Sir Walter, that he meant to convey himself to France, and had actually entered into some unjustifiable correspondence with the French king; but, in reality, all that Sir Walter intended, was to have gone back again to Guiana, in order to efface the memory of his late miscarriage, by a happier undertaking‡ On his second apprehension, he was carried to the Tower, from whence it was already settled he should never be released but by death. It was the earnestness of the Spanish court, by their instrument Count Gondomar, produced this heat in the English councils;§ and yet, if we strictly consider the matter, we shall find that the violence with which the Spanish court drove this prosecution, is one of the strongest proofs that can be alledged in favour of Sir Walter's scheme; for if Guiana was a place of no consequence, why were they so uneasy about it? If Sir Walter had been no more than a projector, who sought to restore his own broken fortunes by fleecing other people, as the calumny of those times suggested, why was not he let alone? The more expeditions he made, the more clearly his folly would have appeared, and the greater advantage the Spaniards would have reaped from its appearance;

* See Captain King's Narrative, a MS. quoted by Mr. Oldys.

† Stucley's Petition and Information, touching his own Behaviour in the charge of bringing up Sir Walter Raleigh, 4to. 1618. Camden's Annals of King James, A. D. 1618.

‡ See Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech at his death.

§ For this the reader may find numerous authorities in Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 210.

because it would have discountenanced all succeeding projects; but, by thus contriving to murder him, they must, in the opinion of every impartial judge, raise the credit of his project, though they might frighten people, at that time, from carrying it into execution. In short, the Spaniards knew what Sir Walter's friends believed; the latter confided in him, the former were positive as he was; because they knew by experience, that Guiana was rich in gold, and that, if it were once thoroughly settled by the English, there would be an end of their empire in the West Indies. * But to return to Sir Walter.

It was difficult, though his death was already decreed, to take his life. His conduct in his late expedition, how criminal soever in the eyes of the court, was far from being so in the sight of the nation; and, though judges could have been found who might pronounce it felony or treason; yet, at that time of day, it was not easy to meet with a jury, who, taking this upon trust, would find him guilty. The commissioners, therefore, who had been appointed to enquire into the matter, and who had over and over examined him, finally reported, that no ground of legal judgment could be drawn from what had passed in this late expedition. † Upon this, it was resolved to call him down to judgment upon his former sentence, which was

* This I have great reason to say, having consulted many of the Spanish writers while I was composing the short History of SPANISH AMERICA. Francis Coreal, one of the best and latest Spanish travellers, acknowledges the country to be very rich; and in the map printed with his travels, the place is marked where the lake of Parima and the city of Manoa are supposed to be; and in the French translation, printed at Amsterdam in 1722, Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to Guiana, is added as a necessary supplement. Also, in Sanson's map, the lake of Parima and the city of Manoa are both visible; so that if what is reported of them be fabulous, yet the opinion is not hitherto exploded. In some of De Lisle's maps they are mentioned, for I have consulted several; and what is more, there are various mines marked in this country, of which the Spaniards are still suspiciously careful.

† Howel's Letters, vol. ii. p. 372.

accordingly done, with all the circumstances of iniquity and brutality that can be well conceived. He was taken out of his bed in the hot fit of an ague, and so brought to the bar of the court of King's Bench, where Sir Henry Montague, the chief justice, ordered the record of his conviction to be read, and then demanded what he had to offer why execution should not be awarded! To this, Sir Walter pleaded his commission, which was immediately over-ruled: next, he would have justified his conduct in Guiana, but that the court would not hear; and so execution was awarded, and the king's warrant for it produced, which had been signed and sealed before-hand.* That this judgment was illegal, and that Sir Walter was really murdered, has been often said, and I believe, seldom doubted; but I think it has not been made so plain as it might be; and therefore, in respect for his memory, I will attempt it, by shewing that the judgment was absolutely illegal, as well as manifestly iniquitous.

It is a maxim in our law, that the king can do no wrong; and most certain it is, that no king can do legal wrong; that is to say, he cannot employ the law to unjust purposes. Sir Walter Raleigh, after his conviction, was dead in law; and therefore, if King James's commission to had not the virtue of a pardon, what was it? Did it empower a dead man to act, and not only to act, but to have a power over the lives and estates of the living? It either conveyed authority, or it did not. If it did convey authority, then Sir Walter was capable of receiving it; that is, he was no longer dead in law, or, in other words, he was pardoned. If it conveyed no authority, then this was an act of legal wrong. I cannot help the blunder; the absurdity is in the thing, and not in my expression. A commission under the privy seal, if not under the great seal, granted by the king, with the advice of his council, to a

* Rymer's *Fœdera*. tom. xvii. p. 115.

dead man ; or, to put it otherwise, a lawful commission given to a man dead in law, is nonsense not to be endured ; and therefore, to avoid this, we must conceive, as Sir Francis Bacon and every other lawyer did, that the commission included, or rather conveyed a pardon. Indeed the same thing may be made out in much fewer words. Grace is not so strong a mark of royal favour as trust ; and therefore, where the latter appears, the law ought, and indeed does, presume the former. This judgment, therefore, did not only murder Sir Walter Raleigh, but in this instance subverted the constitution ; and ought to be looked upon, not only as an act of the basest prostitution, but as the most flagrant violation of justice that ever was committed.

As the method of bringing him to his death was violent and unjust, so the manner was hasty and inhuman. The very next day, being Thursday, the 29th of October, and the Lord-mayor's day, Sir Walter was carried by the sheriffs of Middlesex to suffer in the Old-palace-yard. We have many accounts of his death, and particularly one written by Dr. Robert Tounson, then dean of Westminster, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who assisted him in his last moments.* He tells us, that he had such a contempt of death as surprised this divine, who expostulated with him thereupon. Sir Walter told him plainly, that he never feared death, and much less then, for which he blessed God ; that as to the manner of it, though to others it might seem grievous, yet, for himself, he had rather die so, than in a burning fever. That this was the

* This account is contained in a letter from Dean Tounson, to Sir John Isham, of Lamport, in Northamptonshire, dated Westminster-college, Nov. 9, 1618, which is still preserved in the family. The Dean says, a very particular account of all that passed at Sir Walter's death, was written by one Mr. Crawford, and designed for the press, himself having read and approved it ; but whether this ever was published, I cannot say.

effect of Christian courage, he convinced the doctor himself; "and I think," says he, "all the spectators at his death." He said nothing as to the old plot, but justified himself fully as to what had been lately objected against him. The doctor having put him in mind of the earl of Essex, he said, that lord was taken off by a trick; which he told the doctor privately, but is not set down by him. Sir Walter ate his breakfast heartily that morning, smoaked his pipe, and made no more of death, says my author, than if he had been to take a journey.* On the scaffold he conversed freely with some of the nobility, who were there to see him die; justified himself clearly from all imputations, and like a man of true honour, vindicated his loyalty, even to that pusillanimous prince who thus sacrificed him to the Spaniards.† Dean Tounson observes, that every body gave credit to what Sir Walter said at his death, which rendered Sir Lewis Stucley, and the Frenchman who betrayed him, extremely odious. As to the latter, I know not what became of him; but as to the former, he was detected in Whitehall, clipping the gold bestowed upon him for this infamous act, tried and condemned for it; and, having stripped himself to his shirt, to raise wherewith to purchase a pardon, he went to hide himself in the isle of Lundy, where he died, both mad and a beggar, in less than two years after Sir Walter Raleigh.‡

This end had our illustrious hero, when he had lived sixty-six years.§ We have insisted too long upon his

* See an account of his death at the end of Sir Thomas Overbury's Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, as also joined to his remains; but the particulars above-mentioned are in Dean Tounson's account.

† The most accurate copy of this speech is in Mr. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 228.

‡ *Aulicus coquinaræ*, p. 94. Frankland's Annals of King James and King Charles I. p. 32. Howel's Letters, vol. ii. p. 372. Camden's Annals of King James, A. D. 1620.

§ Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 539, &c. Camden's Annals, A. D. 1618.

life, to be under any necessity of dwelling upon his character, of which, he who would frame a right opinion, must consider attentively his actions and his writings. He raised himself to honour while living, and has secured an endless reputation after death, by a series of noble and generous achievements; he acted in very different capacities and excelled in all. He distinguished himself as a soldier by his courage, by his conduct as a commander; a bold sailor, a hearty friend to seamen, and yet no admiral maintained better discipline; a wise statesman, a profound scholar, a learned, and, withal, a practical philosopher. In regard to his private life, a beneficent master, a kind husband, an affectionate father; and, in respect of the world, a warm friend, a pleasant companion, and a fine gentleman. In a word, he may be truly styled the English Xenophon; for no man of his age did things more worthy of being recorded, and no man was more able to record them than himself; insomuch, that we may say of him, as Scaliger said of Cæsar, "that he fought, and wrote, with the same inimitable spirit." And thus I take my leave of one, whom it is impossible to praise enough.

As to the other seamen of note in this reign, they are either such as have been already spoken of, or, living also in the next reign, may more regularly be mentioned there. I shall therefore conclude this chapter with observing, that the death of Sir Walter Raleigh was so distasteful an act to the whole nation, that the court, to wipe off the odium, thought proper to publish a declaration,* wherein, as it pretended, the true motives and real causes of his death were contained. But this piece was so far from answering the end for which it was sent abroad, that it really served to justify Sir Walter, even beyond his own apology.† After this, King James granted a new com-

* A Declaration of the Demeanour of Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, 4to. 1618.

† Francis Osborne's Traditional Memoirs of King James.

mission for settling Guiana, which shews his absolute sense of our having a right to it; * and demonstrates also the falsehood of that report, that Sir Walter devised his settlement of Guiana, only to repair his losses, through his imprisonment. In other cases, the king was kind enough to such as projected discoveries and settlements; but, taking all things in the lights his several favourites set them, he was sometimes dilatory, and ever unsteady. As to Buckingham's management, within whose province, as lord-high-admiral, these things principally lay, we shall be obliged to treat of it in the next chapter, to which it is time we should proceed.

† About a year after Sir Walter Raleigh's death, King James granted a commission to Captain Roger North, to settle a colony in Guinea. Mr. Oldys's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 223.

CHAP. II.

The Naval History of Great Britain under the Reign of Charles I. comprehending an account of our Naval Expeditions against the French and Spaniards; our differences with the Dutch about the right of Fishing; and our dominion over the British Sea; the Progress of Navigation and Commerce; settling Colonies; and other Maritime transactions; together with an account of the eminent Seamen who flourished within that period.

A.D.
1625.

UPON the demise of King James, his only son Charles, prince of Wales, succeeded him, not only quietly and without disturbance, but with the general approbation of his subjects.* He was in the flower of his age, had shewn himself a person of great abilities, and, after the breaking off the Spanish match, had rendered himself for a time very popular by his conduct.† His father left him in a situation much incumbered at the time of his decease; for, the government was deeply in debt; a war with Spain was just begun; and his prime-minister, the duke of Buckingham, who had been likewise his father's, was generally hated.‡ In this sad state of public affairs, every thing was subject to wrong constructions. Eight thousand men, raised for the service of the Palatinate, were ordered to rendezvous at Plymouth; and, in their passage thither,

* Frankland's Annals, p. 107. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Oxford, 2712, 8vo. vol. i. p. 22, 24. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 165.

† Wilson's History of King James, in Kennet, p. 779, 780. Frankland's Annals, p. 93. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 228, 229. Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs. See the Parliamentary History of England, vol. vi. where the whole of the business relating to the Spanish match, the share the prince of Wales and the duke of Buckingham took therein in parliament, and the effects it produced, are very ably as well as accurately treated.

‡ Clarendon, vol. i. p. 25. Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles I. by Sir Richard Bulstrode, p. 25. Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 16.

coat and conduct money were demanded of the country to be repaid out of the Exchequer. The behaviour of these troops was very licentious, and the long continuance of peace made it appear still a greater grievance. The clamour thereupon grew high; and the king, to remedy this evil, granted a commission for executing martial law; which, instead of being considered as a remedy, was taken for a new grievance more heavy than any of the rest.*

The truth was, that while Buckingham remained in the king's council, all things were attributed to him; and the nation was so prejudiced against him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him was held a grievance; and though no man saw this more clearly than the king, yet, by an infatuation not easily to be accounted for, he trusted him as much, and loved him much more than his father had ever done.

The king's marriage with the Princess Henrietta Maria, daughter to Henry IV. of France, had been concluded in the life-time of King James; and after his decease, the king was married to her by proxy. In the month of June, 1625, Buckingham went to attend her with the royal navy, and brought her to Dover; from thence she came to Canterbury, where the marriage was consummated; and, on the 16th of the same month, their majesties entered London privately, the plague daily increasing in the suburbs.† It was not long before an unfortunate transaction rendered this marriage dis-

* Rushworth, vol. i. p. 168. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 1. Kennet vol. iii. p. 4.

† Stowe's Annals continued by Edmund Howes, p. 1041. History of Charles I. by Hammond L'Estrange, Esquire, p. 6. Dupleix, Histoire de Louis le Juste, p. 254. See a Relation of the Glorious Triumphs and Order of the Ceremonies observed in the Marriage of the High and Mighty Charles, King of England, and the Lady Henrietta Maria, Sister to the present King of France, on May 8, London, 1625, 4to.

agreeable to the people; and, as this related to the navy, it falls particularly under our cognizance; which we shall therefore handle more at large, because, in most of our general histories, it is treated very confusedly.

The marquis d'Effiat, ambassador from France to King James, had represented to his majesty, that the power of the Catholic king in Italy was dangerous to all Europe; that his master was equally inclined with his Britannic majesty to curtail it; but, wanting a sufficient maritime force, that he was desirous of borrowing from his majesty a few ships to enable him to execute the design he had formed against Genoa. * To this the king condescended; and it was agreed, that the Great Neptune, a man of war, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Georges, and six merchant ships, each of between three and four hundred tons burden, should be lent to the French; but, soon after this agreement, the Rochellers made an application here, signifying, that they had just grounds to apprehend, that this English squadron would be employed for destroying the Protestant interest in France, instead of diminishing the king of Spain's power in Italy.

The duke of Buckingham, knowing that this would be little relished by Captain Pennington, who was to go admiral of the fleet, and the owners of the ships; gave them private instructions, contrary to the public contract with France, whereby they were directed not to serve against Rochelle; but, upon their coming into a French port in the month of May, they were told by the Duke of Montmorency, that they were intended to serve, and should serve against Rochelle; upon which, the sailors on board the fleet signed what is called by them, a Round Robin, that is, a paper containing their resolution not

* Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 21. Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, book iii. p. 108. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 6. Rushworth's Collection, tom. i. p. 174. L'Estrange's History of Charles I. p. 56, 57.

to engage in that service, with their names subscribed in a circle, that it might not be discerned who signed first.

Pennington upon this fairly sailed away with the whole squadron, and returned into the Downs in the beginning of July; from whence he sent a letter to the duke of Buckingham, desiring to be excused from that service. The duke, without acquainting the king, or consulting the council, directed Lord Conway, then secretary of state, to write a letter to Captain Pennington, commanding him to put all the ships into the hands of the French. This, however, not taking effect, the duke surreptitiously, and without the king's knowing any thing of the design upon Rochelle, procured his letter to Captain Pennington to the same effect. Upon this, in the month of August, he sailed a second time to Dieppe, where, according to his instructions, the merchant-ships were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Georges, who commanded the king's ship, weighed anchor, and put to sea: and so honest were all the seamen on board these ships, that, except one gunner, they all quitted them and returned to England; but, as for the ships, they remained with the French, and were actually employed against Rochelle, contrary to the king's intention, and to the very high dishonour of the nation. This affair made a great noise, and came at last to form an article in an impeachment against the duke of Buckingham. *

A.D.
1625.

* Frankland's Annals, p. 156. Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 6. See also Captain John Pennington's Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, from on board the Vanguard in the Downs, July 27, 1625, in the cabala, p. 350. But the most distinct account is to be gathered out of the seventh and eighth articles of the impeachment exhibited against the duke of Buckingham by the House of Commons in 1626, and the speech of Mr. Glanvill on the said articles,

In the mean time the design still went on of attacking and invading Spain, and a stout fleet was provided for that purpose; but as Buckingham, in quality of lord-high-admiral, had the supreme direction of that affair, the nation looked upon it with an evil eye, and were not so much displeased at its miscarriage, as glad of an opportunity of railing at the duke, and at those who by his influence were intrusted with the command of the fleet, and the forces on board it.* The whole of this transaction has been very differently related, according to the humours of those who penned the accounts; however, there are very authentic memoirs remaining, and from these I shall give as concise and impartial a detail of the affair as I can; which will shew how dangerous a thing it is for princes to employ persons disagreeable to the greatest part of their subjects; an error by which they almost necessarily transfer the resentment attending their miscarriages upon themselves.

A.D.
1625.

This war with Spain was chiefly of the duke of Buckingham's procuring; and seems to have proceeded more from his personal distaste to Count Olivarez, than any solid or honourable motive; however, after the war was begun, it ought, certainly, to have been prosecuted; because, though he acted from private pique, and at a time when it visibly served his own particular purposes; yet, without question, the nation had been grievously injured by the Spaniards; and there were, therefore, sufficient grounds for taking all the advantages our naval power and our alliance with the Dutch gave us, as well as of the weakness of the enemy, and their firm persuasion, that, whatever we might pretend, we should not actually proceed to hostilities. But though it was his own war; though he had engaged the king to prosecute it with

* Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Rushworth, Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, Kennet, Rapin.

much heat, to draw together a great fleet, and a considerable body of forces which were to embark on board it; yet, when all things were ready, and the fleet on the point of going to sea, the duke declined the command, and resolved to send another person in his stead, which had a very ill effect upon the whole design. *

Sir Edward Cecil, grandson to the great Lord Burleigh, was the person of whom the duke made choice for this command; an old soldier, it is true, but no seaman, and therefore not at all qualified for the supreme direction of such an undertaking. † The earls of Essex and Denbigh were appointed his vice and rear-admirals; and, that he might be the fitter to command men of such quality, he was created baron of Putney, and viscount Wimbleton, and had likewise the rank of lord-marshal. ‡ It was thought strange, that though there wanted not many able seamen, such as Sir Robert Mansell, Sir William Monson, and others, yet none of them were entrusted; but, as if that could confer merit, merely such as were in the duke's favour, which was both an unreasonable and an impolitic thing.

The force employed was very considerable, *viz.* eighty ships, English and Dutch, and ten good regiments; neither was it at all improbable, that if matters had been well concerted, and properly executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation; and the honour of the king and his ministry. The Spanish plate-fleet was then returning home with above a million on board; and, if they had gone to Tercera, they must infallibly have been masters of them; and, by the destruc-

* Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 196. Kennet's complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 12, 13. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 15. Whitlocke, p. 2.

† Clarendon, vol. i. p. 40. Kennet, p. 12, 13. L'Estrange's History of Charles I. p. 17.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 407. Kennet, p. 13. Frankland's Annals.

tion of fifty or sixty galleons, had disabled the maritime power of Spain for at least a century. But the fleet did not sail till October, and then they went upon no settled scheme; but all was left to the discretion of men, who, in reality, were no fit judges of such matters; and besides, were very soon, in point of opinion, divided among themselves. *

A.D.
1625.

The general sailed from Plymouth the 7th of October, 1625; but, when the fleet had proceeded some leagues to sea, their ships were separated by a storm; so that they were many days before they came together to their appointed rendezvous off Cape Vincent. On the 19th of October, a council was held, wherein it was resolved to attack Cadiz, which accordingly they did on the 22d of October. The earl of Essex stood into the bay, where he found seventeen good ships riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies; these he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders and due assistance; the Spanish ships were suffered to retire to Port Real, whither the lord-marshal did not think fit to follow them. Then some thousands of soldiers were landed, and the fort of Puntal was taken; after which they proceeded to make some attempts upon the town. The soldiers, unfortunately becoming masters of too much wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers, engaged them to reimbark their forces; and then it was concluded to cruize off Cape St. Vincent for the Flota.

The men by this time grew sickly, and by the strangest management that ever was heard; that is, distributing the sick under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ship, the whole fleet was infected; and that to such a

* See a copious account of the motives to, and miscarriages in this voyage, by Sir William Monson, in his second book of Naval Tracts.

degree, as scarcely left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired less honour themselves; * all which was foreseen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left England. On their return, a charge was exhibited against the general by the earl of Essex, and nine other officers of distinction: Lord Wimbleton justified himself in a long answer to their charge. Both pieces are yet remaining; and serve only to demonstrate, that want of experience, and, which was worse, want of unanimity, proved the ruin of this expedition. † These proceedings increased the discontents of the people; exposed the duke, if possible, to still greater odium; and lessened the reputation of our naval force, which quickly produced, as under like circumstances will be always the case, numerous inconveniencies.

A.D.
1625.

While the clamour still subsisted for the want of success attending the fleet abroad, the duke of Buckingham fell into another error in the execution of his office, as lord-high-admiral at home. He was vexed at the noise that had been made about the merchant ships put into the hands of the French, and employed against Rochelle; ‡

A.D.
1626.

* See the several accounts of this voyage in the authors before cited.

† Both the officer's charge and Lord Wimbleton's answer are printed in the genuine works in verse and prose of the Right Honourable George Lord Lansdowne, vol. iii. p. 197, edit. 1736, 12mo. The reader, who shall compare these with Sir William Monson's reflections on this lord's conduct, will discern, that he is hardly and unjustly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils when he should have been acting; the officers accuse him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth seems to be, he had no notion of a sea command, and his officers no inclination to obey him.

‡ Sir Philip Warwick accounts for this distaste of the duke towards the French. He says, that Cardinal Richlieu duped the Dutch and English both, by pretending to execute a very feasible scheme for preventing the Spaniards sending any supplies into Germany; and under that pretence procuring their ships, and then using them against the Rochellers.

and therefore took occasion, in the latter end of the year 1626, to cause a French ship, called the *St. Peter*, of Havre de Grace, to be arrested. The pretence was, that it was laden with Spanish effects; which, however, the French denied, and asserted, that all the goods in the ship belonged to French merchants, or to English and Dutch.* Upon this a commission was granted to hear evidence as to that point; and it appearing plainly there was no just ground of seizure, the ship was ordered to be, and at last was released; but not before the French king made some reprisals, which so irritated the nation, that this also was made an article in the duke's impeachment.† The matter, however, was compromised between the two kings, and the good correspondence between their subjects, for a time, restored; but, at the bottom, there was no cordial reconciliation: and so this quarrel, like a wound ill cured, broke quickly out again, with worse symptoms than before.‡

The war in which the king was engaged, in order to have procured the restitution of the Palatinate to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with Denmark, which obliged him to send a squadron of ships to that king's assistance; and, this being attended with small success, he was called upon for further supplies. His parliaments all this time were little inclined to assist him, because he would not part with Buckingham; and this obliged him to have recourse to such methods for supply as his lawyers assured him were justifiable. Among the rest, he obliged all the sea-ports to furnish him with ships; of the city of London he demanded twenty, and of other places in proportion.

* Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 28.

† It is the fifth article of the impeachment; and the duke, in his answer, drawn by Sir Nicholas Hide, justifies himself very plausibly.

‡ Rushworth, Frankland, Baker, Echard, Rapin.

The inhabitants thought this so hard, that many who had no immediate dependence upon trade, were for quitting their residence in maritime places, and retiring up into the country. This conduct made the burden still more intolerable upon those who staid behind; and, the consequence of their remonstrances was a proclamation, requiring such as had quitted the sea-coast to return immediately to their former dwellings; and, this it was gave rise to the first disturbances in this unfortunate reign. * They were quickly increased by the rash management of Buckingham, who, though he saw his master so deeply embarrassed with the wars in which he was already engaged; yet plunged him into another with France, very precipitately, and against all the rules of true policy.

The queen's foreign servants, who were all bigotted Papists, had not only acted indiscreetly in matters relating to their religion; but had likewise drawn the queen to take some very wrong, to say the truth, some ridiculous and extravagant steps; upon which, Buckingham engaged his majesty to dismiss her French servants, which she did the 1st of July, 1626; and then sent the Lord Carleton to represent his reasons for taking so quick a measure to the French king. † That monarch refused him audience; and, to shew his sense of the action, immediately seized one hundred and twenty of our ships, which were in his ports, and undertook the siege of Rochelle; though our king had acted but a little before as a mediator between him and his Protestant subjects. ‡ Upon this, the latter ap-

* Kennet, vol. iii. p. 28. Frankland's Annals, p. 206, 207. Whitlocke, p. 7, 8. Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 415, 416.

† Hammond L'Estrange's History of Charles I. p. 58, 59. Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 31. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, b. iv. p. 129, 130.

‡ Dupleix Histoire de Louis le Juste, p. 298. Le Gendre Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 174. Aubre Histoire du Cardinal duc de Richlieu, Paris, 1660, fol. liv. ii. chap. xi. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 424.

A.D. 1626. plied themselves to King Charles, who ordered a fleet of thirty sail to be equipped for their relief, and sent it under the command of the earl of Denbigh: but this being so late in the year as the month of October, his lordship found it impracticable to execute his commission; and so, after continuing some time at sea in hard weather, he returned into port, which not only disappointed the king's intention, but also blemished his reputation; for the Rochellers began to suspect the sincerity of this design, and doubted whether he really intended to assist them or not. *

A.D. 1627. The duke of Buckingham, to put the thing out of dispute, caused a great fleet to be drawn together the next year; and an army of seven thousand men to be put on board it, resolving to go himself as admiral and commander in chief. He sailed from Portsmouth the 27th of June, and landed on the island of Rhe; though at first he intended to have made a descent on Oleron, and actually promised so much to the duke of Soubize, whom he sent to Rochelle to acquaint the inhabitants of his coming to their relief. They received this message coldly; for the French king having corrupted some by his gold, and terrifying many more by his power; the Rochellers were now afraid to receive the very succours they had demanded. †

The duke landed his troops on the last of July, not without strong opposition from Mr. de Toyras, the French governor, whom he forced to retire, though with some loss. Upon this occasion, the English fell into the very same errors in conduct which they had committed in the

* Kennet, vol. iii. p. 29. L'Estrange's History of Charles I. p. 62, 63. Frankland's Annals.

† Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 426. Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, b. 4. p. 132. See Sir Richard Grenville's Journal of the Expedition to the Isle of Rhe, anno, 1627, in Lord Lansdowne's Works, vol. iii. p. 246.

Cadiz expedition. The fort of la Pré, which covered the landing-place, they neglected, though the French themselves in their fright had slighted it; so that it might have been taken without any trouble; and it was a place of so great consequence, that if it had been in the hands of the English, it would have prevented the French from introducing any supplies. At first, it is certain, the French court was exceedingly alarmed; and, it is said, the king fell sick upon it; but their terrors quickly diminished, when they were informed that the duke had no great capacity as a commander, and withal too much pride to take advice.

The town of St. Martin's, however, was speedily taken by the English, and his grace then invested the citadel; but gave evident proofs of his want of military skill in managing the siege. At first, he quartered his troops about the place without entrenching, which at last, however, he was forced to do; then he entered into conferences with the governor, and refusing to communicate the substance of them to his officers, discouraged his own people, and enabled the French to deceive him by a sham treaty; during which the fort received a considerable supply. By this time, the Rochellers had declared for the English; their confidence being as unseasonable for themselves, as their suspicions had been before for their friends; for this declaration, and the expectation he had of succours from England, which were to be sent him under the command of the earl of Holland; engaged Buckingham to remain so long in his camp, that his troops were much diminished.

At length, on the 6th of November, he made a general assault; when it appeared that the place was impregnable, at least, to forces under such circumstances as his were. Two days after he resolved upon a retreat, which was ill conducted as the rest of the expedition. It was made in the sight of an enemy as strong in foot, and more nu-

A.D.
1627.

merous in horse than themselves, over a narrow causeway, with salt pits on each side: yet there was no precaution taken by erecting a fort, or so much as throwing up a retrenchment to cover the entrance of the passage; by which mistake and neglect the army was so much exposed, that abundance of brave men were killed, which the best accounts now extant sum up thus: fifty officers of all ranks, two thousand common soldiers, and thirty-five volunteers of note. With equal shame and loss, therefore, the duke concluded this unlucky expedition, embarking all his forces on the 9th of the same month, and sending the poor Rochellers a solemn promise, that he would come back again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform. To complete his misfortune, as he entered Plymouth, he met the earl of Holland with the promised succours sailing out, who now returned with him. There never was, its immediate effects and future consequences considered, a more fatal undertaking than this. It was highly prejudicial to the king, and entirely ruined the duke. The merchants were discouraged from carrying on trade by impressing their ships; and the treasury was so little in a condition to pay the seamen, that they came in crowds and clamoured at Whitehall.*

A.D.
1628.

To remedy those evils, a parliament was called in the beginning of 1628, wherein there passed nothing but disputes between the king and the commons; so that at last it was prorogued without granting supplies. The king, however, exerted himself to the utmost, in preparing a naval force to make good what the duke of Buckingham had promised to the inhabitants of Rochelle. With this view, a fleet of fifty sail was assembled at Plymouth in the spring, and a large body of marines embarked; the command of it was given to the earl of Denbigh, who was

* Kennet, vol. iii. p. 38—40. Whitlocke, p. 9. L'Estrange's History of Charles I. p. 68—71. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 24—28. Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs.

brother-in-law to Buckingham, and who sailed from that port on the 17th of April, coming to anchor in the road of Rochelle on the 1st of May. On his arrival, he found twenty sail of the French king's ships riding before the harbour; and being much superiour in number and strength, he sent advice into the town, that he would sink the French ships as soon as the wind came west, and made a higher flood. About the 8th of May, the wind and tide served accordingly, and the Rochellers expected and solicited that deliverance. But the earl, without remembering his promise or embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor and sailed away; suffering four of the French ships to pursue, as it were, the English fleet, which arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of May.

A.D.
1628.

This second inglorious expedition was still a greater discouragement to the poor Rochellers; and increased the fears and jealousies of a Popish interest at home. One Le Brun, a Frenchman, but captain in the English fleet, gave in depositions before the mayor of Plymouth on the 16th of May, which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, in the management of this late expedition. This account was certified by the mayor of Plymouth, and the two burgesses of that town in parliament, by whom it was communicated to the council-table; whence, a letter was directed to the duke of Buckingham, as lord high-admiral, dated the 30th of May, 1628, to signify his majesty's pleasure, that the earl of Denbigh should return back to relieve the town of Rochelle, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ships prepared at Portsmouth and Plymouth. But, notwithstanding this order of council, no such return was made, nor any inquiry into the disobedience of the king's order for it. *

* Kennet, vol. iii. p. 48. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, p. 171. Whitlocke, p. 10. Frankland's Annals. Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 586, 587.

A.D.
1628.

Notwithstanding these repeated defeats; the cries of the Rochellers, and the clamours of the people were so loud, that a third fleet was prepared for the relief of that city; now, by a close siege, reduced to the last extremity. The duke of Buckingham chose to command in person, and to that end came to Portsmouth; where, on the 23d of August, having been at breakfast with Soubize and the general officers; John Felton, late lieutenant of a company in a regiment of foot, under Sir John Ramsay, placed himself in an entry, through which the duke was to pass; who, walking with Sir Thomas Frier, and inclining his ear to him in a posture of attention, Felton, with a back blow, stabbed him on the left side into the very heart; leaving the knife in his body, which the duke pulled out with his own hand, and then fell down; saying only, "The villain hath killed me!" Felton slipped away, and might have gone undiscovered, but that either his conscience or his insolence betrayed him; for while the general rumour was, that the murderer must be a Frenchman, and some began to suspect Soubize as a party in it, Felton stepped out, and said, "I am the man who did the deed; let no man suffer that is innocent." Upon which, he was apprehended and sent prisoner to London.

This accident did not prevent the king's prosecuting his design: the very next day, his majesty made the earl of Lindsey admiral, Monson and Mountjoy vice and rear-admirals; and, as an illustrious foreign writer assures us, his care and presence had such an effect in the preparing for this voyage, that more was despatched now in ten or twelve days than in many weeks before: * which is a demonstrative proof of two things; of which, many of our

* Duke of Rohan's Memoirs, p. 183. His brother, the duke of Soubize, was here at the time, and on the spot; and, consequently, witness of the great preparations made, as well as of the great diligence exerted on the occasion.

writers of history have affected to doubt, *viz.* that the king was hearty in his design, and that the Rochellers were convinced of it. This expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The fleet sailed the 8th of September, 1628, and arriving before Rochelle, found the boom raised to block up the entrance of the port, so strong, that though many attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain; so that the Rochellers were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually surrendered the place on the 18th of October, the English fleet looking on, but not being able to help them; and, to complete their misfortunes, the very night after the city was given up, the sea made such a breach as would have opened an entrance for the largest ship in the English fleet.* With this expedition ended the operations of the war with France, though a peace was not made till the succeeding year.†

From this time, the French began to be ambitious of raising a maritime power, and to be extremely uneasy at the growth of the English shipping. This was the effect of Richlieu's politics, who best understood the different interests of the several European powers, and how to manage them, so as to make them subservient to the ends of France, of any minister that nation ever had; or, it is to be hoped, for the peace of Christendom, will ever have.

A.D.
1628.

* Frankland's Annals, p. 333. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 49. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 635. L'Estrange's History of Charles I. p. 93. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, p. 190.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xix. p. 66—86. The duke of Rohan wrote a very long and pathetic letter to the king, which the reader will meet with in Rushworth's Collections, under the year 1629, p. 4. imploring his further aid on the behalf of the reformed churches in France, prior to the treaty of peace; but his majesty, as he informed that nobleman in his answer, having been constrained to dissolve the parliament, from whom he expected supplies, being in no condition to contribute any farther assistance thereto, recommended it to him, and those interested, to make the best terms they could with the court of France.

He brought in the Swedes to destroy the power of the House of Austria in Germany; and had address enough to engage us to assist in that design, upon the plausible pretence of favouring the Protestant interest. * Then his agents in Holland very dexterously infused a jealousy of our dominion over the narrow seas; our claim to the sole right of fishing, or permitting to fish in them; and expecting the honour of the flag, at a considerable distance from our own shores. After these notions had been a while the subjects of common discourse among the Dutch, the famous Hugo Grotius was induced to write a treatise, under the title of *MARE LIBERUM*; wherein, with great eloquence, he endeavoured to shew the weakness of our title to dominion over the sea; which, according to his notion, was a gift from God, common to all nations. †

This was answered by Selden, in his famous treatise, intituled, *MARE CLAUSUM*; wherein he has effectually demonstrated, from the principles of the law of nature and nations, that a dominion over the sea may be acquired; from the most authentic histories, that such a dominion has been claimed and enjoyed by several nations, and submitted to by others, for their common benefit; that this, in fact, was the case of the inhabitants of this island, who at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exercised, and constantly enjoyed such a dominion; which had been confessed by their neighbours frequently, and in the most solemn manner. ‡ All this, with learning, industry, and judgment superiour to praise, this great man hath fully and unquestionably made out,

* This matter is very fairly stated by Sir Philip Warwick, in his *Memoirs*, p. 97.

† The title of this book runs thus, *Mare Liberum; seu, de Jure quod Batavis competit ad Indica Commercia: Lug. Bat. Elzevir. 1609. 8vo.*; reprinted about this time.

‡ Selden's title is short and plain; *Mare Clausum; seu, de Domino Maris*, lib. ii. Loudini, 1635. fol.

for the satisfaction of foreigners ; as it is the design of this work, if I may be allowed to mention it in the same page with Mr. Selden's, to impress the same sentiment on the minds of all sensible Britons, *viz.* " That they have an " hereditary, uninterrupted right to the sovereignty of " their seas, conveyed to them from their earliest ancestors, in trust for their latest posterity." This book of Mr. Selden was published in 1634 ; and by the countenance then, and afterwards, shewn by King Charles toward this extraordinary performance, we may fairly conclude, that he had very just and generous notions of his own and his people's rights in this respect ; though he was very unfortunate in taking such methods as he did to support them. *

The French minister persisted steadily in his Machiavelian scheme, of using the power and industry of the Dutch, to interrupt the trade, and lessen the maritime force of Britain. With this view also, a negotiation was begun between that crown and the states of Holland, for dividing the Spanish Netherlands between them ; and under colour of thus assisting them, in support of their pretensions to an equal right over the sea, and in promoting their trade, to the prejudice of ours ; Richlieu carried on secretly and securely his darling project, of raising a naval force in France ; to promote which, he spared not either pains or expense, procuring from all parts, the ablest persons in all arts and sciences any way relating to navigation, and fixing them in the French service, by giving them great encouragement.

Our king formed a just idea of his design, and saw thoroughly into its consequences, which he endeavoured to prevent, by publishing proclamations for restraining shipwrights, and other artificers, from entering into foreign service ; for asserting his title to the sovereignty of the

* See Rushworth, under the year 1636, p. 320. Frankland's Annals, p. 476. Whitlocke, L'Estrange.

sea; and for regulating the manner of wearing flags. * If to these precautions he had joined a reasonable condescension to the temper of his subjects, in dismissing from his service such as were obnoxious to them, either through their arbitrary notions, or bad behaviour; and had thereby fixed them, and their representatives, firmly in his interest; without doubt he had gained his point, and carried the glory of this nation higher than any of his predecessors. But his want of skill in the art of gaining the affections of the people; and, to speak without reserve, that want of true public spirit, in some who were now esteemed patriots by the people; prevented the good effects of the king's laudable intentions; and turned what he meant for a cordial, into a corrosive poison.

I am far from affecting an allegorical style; but there are some things of so nice a nature; and the tempers of men are in some seasons so strangely turned; that it is not expedient either for them to hear, or for the historian to tell, even truth, too bluntly. Yet, it is equally dangerous, on the other hand, for one who undertakes such a task as this, to be afraid of delivering his sentiments freely, even supposing his fears to flow from an apprehension of injuring, what he thinks it his duty to recommend. Under a strong sense, therefore, of what in one respect it becomes me to say, for the service of my country; and what in regard to the opinions of very great men, who have thought in another way, it is unfit for me to shew myself positive; I come now to speak of ship-money, a subject exceedingly tender in the last age, and little less so at present. †

A.D.
1635.

The apprehensions which the king had entertained of this new league between the French and Dutch, were so

* Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 74. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 24. Frankland's Annals, p. 471. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs. L'Estrange's Life of Charles I. p. 130, 131.

† Compare our modern histories with those written near those times.

heightened in the year 1635, by the junction of the fleets of those two powers; and the intelligence he had, that France was shortly to declare war against Spain; and from thence to derive that occasion they had been so long seeking, to divide the Netherlands between themselves and their new allies; all whose pretensions, in respect to the right of fishing, and using an unrestrained navigation in the seas, they had undertaken to support, that he resolved to be no longer passive.* In order to defeat this design, and maintain the sovereignty annexed to the English crown, as well as the credit of the nation as a maritime power, the king saw that it was necessary to equip, and put to sea, a superiour naval force.

This it seemed exceedingly hard to do, without the assistance of a parliament; and yet the delays in granting aids, had been so great in former parliaments, that his majesty was very doubtful of succeeding, if for this he trusted to a parliamentary supply. His lawyers, knowing both the nature of the case, and his deep distress, suggested to him, that upon this occasion, he might have recourse to his prerogative; which opinion having been approved by the judges, he thereupon directed writs to be issued, for the levying of ship-money. These writs were, for the present, directed only to sea-ports, and such places as were near the coast; requiring them to furnish a certain number of ships, or to grant the king an aid equivalent thereto. The city of London was directed to provide seven ships for twenty-six days, and other places in proportion. To make the nation the more easy under this tax, the king directed that the money raised thereby, should be kept apart in the Exchequer; and that a distinct account should be given of the services to which it was applied. Yet, in spite of these precautions, the people

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 239. Frankland's Annals, p. 468.

murmured grievously ; which, however, did not hinder this project from being carried into execution. *

A.D. But as our neighbours were likely to be as much alarmed,
1635. from the equipping of so strong a fleet, as our people were disturbed at home by the method taken to defray the expense of it ; Secretary Coke, by the king's orders, wrote a letter to Sir William Boswell, then charged with his majesty's affairs at the Hague, in order fully to explain what the fleet was to perform ; which letter, for the honour of those times, shall be inserted here, and is as follows :

“ SIR,

“ By your letters, and otherwise, I perceive many jealousies and discourses are raised upon the preparations of his majesty's fleet, which is now in such forwardness, that we doubt not but within this month it will appear at sea. It is, therefore, expedient, both for your satisfaction and direction, to inform you particularly what was the occasion, and what is his majesty's intention in this work.

“ First, we hold it a principle not to be denied, that the king of Great Britain is a monarch at land and sea, to the full extent of his dominions ; and, that it concerneth him, as much to maintain his sovereignty in all the British seas, as within his three kingdoms ; because, without that, these cannot be kept safe, nor he preserve his honour, and due respect with other nations. But, commanding the seas, he may cause his neighbours, and all countries, to stand upon their guard, whensoever he thinks fit. And this cannot be doubted, that whosoever will encroach upon him by sea, will do it by land also, when they see their time. To such presumption, MARE LIBERUM gave the first warning piece, which must be

* Kennet's complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Whitlocke, p. 22, 24. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 51. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 68. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 334, 335. Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 36, 37.

“ answered with a defence of *MARE CLAUSUM*, not so
“ much by discourses, as by the louder language of a
“ powerful navy, to be better understood, when over-
“ strained patience seeth no hope of preserving her right
“ by other means.

“ The degrees by which his majesty’s dominion at sea
“ hath of later years been first impeached, and then
“ questioned, are as considerable as notorious.

“ First, to cherish, as it were, to nurse up our unthank-
“ ful neighbours, we gave them leave to gather wealth and
“ strength upon our coasts, in our ports, by our trade,
“ and by our people. Then they were glad to invite our
“ merchants residence, with what privileges they could
“ desire. Then they offered to us even the sovereignty
“ of their estates, and then they sued for licence to fish
“ upon the coasts; and obtained it, under the great seal of
“ Scotland, which now they suppress. And when thus by
“ leave, or by connivance, they had possessed themselves
“ of our fishing, not only in Scotland, but in Ireland and
“ in England, and by our staple had raised a great stock
“ of trade, by these means, they so increased their ship-
“ ping and power at sea, that now they endure not to be
“ kept at any distance; nay, they are grown to that con-
“ fidence, to keep guards upon our seas, and then to pro-
“ ject an office and company of assurance, for the advance-
“ ment of trade, and withal prohibit us free commerce,
“ even within our seas, and take our ships and goods, if
“ we conform not to their placarts. What insolencies and
“ cruelties they have committed against us heretofore, in
“ Iceland, in Greenland, and in the Indies, is too well
“ known to all the world. In all which, though our suf-
“ ferings, and their wrong, may seem forgotten, yet the
“ great interest of his majesty’s honour is still the same,
“ and will refresh their memories as there shall be cause.
“ For though charity must remit wrongs done to private
“ men, yet the reflection upon the public, may make it a

“ greater charity to do justice on crying crimes. All this
“ notwithstanding, you are not to conceive, that the work
“ of this fleet is either revenge, or execution of justice for
“ these great offences past, but chiefly for the future, to
“ stop the violent current of that presumption, whereby
“ the men of war and free-booters of all nations, abusing
“ the favour of his majesty’s peaceable and gracious go-
“ vernment, whereby he hath permitted all his friends
“ and allies to make use of his seas and ports, in a rea-
“ sonable manner, and according to his treaties, have
“ taken upon them the boldness, not only to come con-
“ fidently, at all times, into all his ports and rivers, but to
“ convey their merchant ships as high as his chief city,
“ and then to cast anchor close upon his magazines, and
“ to contemn the commands of his officers, when they
“ required a farther distance. But, which is more into-
“ lerable, have assaulted and taken one another within
“ his majesty’s channels, and within his rivers, to the
“ scorn and contempt of his dominion and power; and,
“ this being of late years an ordinary practice, which we
“ have endeavoured in vain to reform, by the ways of
“ justice and treaties, the world, I think, will now be
“ satisfied, that we have reason to look about us. And
“ no wise man will doubt, that it is high time to put our-
“ selves in this equipage upon the seas, and not to suffer
“ that stage of action to be taken from us, for want of our
“ appearance.

“ So you see the general ground upon which our
“ counsels stand. In particular, you may take notice
“ and publish, as cause requires, that his majesty by
“ this fleet intendeth not a rupture with any prince or
“ state, nor to infringe any point of his treaties; but
“ resolveth to continue and maintain that happy peace
“ wherewith God had blessed his kingdom, and to which
“ all his actions and negociations have hitherto tended,
“ as by your own instructions you may fully understand.

“ But withal, considering that peace must be maintained
 “ by the arm of power, which only keeps down war by
 “ keeping up dominion; his majesty, thus provoked, finds
 “ it necessary, for his own defence and safety, to re-
 “ assume and keep his ancient and undoubted right in
 “ the dominion of these seas, and suffer no other prince
 “ or state to encroach upon him, thereby assuming to
 “ themselves or their admirals any sovereign command;
 “ but to force them to perform due homage to his admirals
 “ and ships; and to pay them acknowledgments as in
 “ former times they did. He will also set open and
 “ protect the free trade both of his subjects and allies,
 “ and give them such safe conduct and convoy as they
 “ shall reasonably require. He will suffer no other fleets,
 “ or men of war, to keep any guard upon these seas, or
 “ there to offer violence, or take prizes or booties, or to
 “ give interruption to any lawful intercourse. In a
 “ word, his majesty is resolved, as to do no wrong, so to
 “ do justice both to his subjects and friends within the
 “ limits of his seas. And this is the real and royal
 “ design of this fleet, whereof you may give part, as you
 “ find occasion, to our good neighbours in those parts,
 “ that no umbrage may be taken of any hostile act or
 “ purpose to their prejudice in any kind. So wishing you
 “ all health and happiness, I rest.

“ Whitehall, April 16, 1635.”

One would imagine, that less care had been taken to
 satisfy the minds of the people at home about the genuine
 intent of this tax, levied for the equipping of a fleet
 sufficient for these necessary purposes, since otherwise the
 public welfare seemed to be so nearly concerned, that
 public acquiescence at least might have been expected.
 But the truth of the matter was, his majesty did in this
 respect all that was in his power to do; by directing the

lord-keeper Coventry * to put the judges in mind, before they went the summer circuit, to satisfy the minds of the people in relation to the levying of ship-money, which most of them did; but, as Whitlocke assures us, very ineffectually; though the same author acknowledges, that the money was assessed and levied with great care and equality, much beyond what was observed in following taxes.

A.D.
1635.

With the help of this money, the king, in the month of May, 1635, fitted out a fleet of forty sail, under the command of Robert earl of Lindsey, who was admiral, Sir William Monson vice-admiral, Sir John Pennington rear-admiral; as also another of twenty sail, under the earl of Essex. The first of these fleets sailed from Tilbury-hope on the 26th of May. Their instructions were, to give no occasion of hostility, and to suffer nothing which might prejudice the rights of the king and kingdom. The French and Dutch fleets joined off Portland the last of this month; and made no scruple of giving out, that they intended to assert their own independency, and to question that prerogative which the English claimed in the narrow seas; but as soon as they were informed that the English fleet was at sea, and in search of them, they quitted our coast, and repaired to their own. †

Our admiral sent a bark upon the coast of Britanny to take a view of them; and, from the time of the return of this bark to the 1st of October, this fleet protected our own seas and shores; gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually asserted that sovereignty which the monarchs of this kingdom have ever claimed. The good effects of this armament, and the reputation we

* Memorials, p. 24. The keeper's speech to the judges is still extant in Sanderson's History of King Charles I. p. 204, 205, 206.

† Letters and despatches of Thomas earl of Stafford, vol. i. p. 416, 417, 429, 446. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, book ii. p. 290.

gained thereby abroad, in some measure quieted the minds of the people; as it convinced them, that this was not an invention to bring money into the exchequer, without respect had to the end for which it was raised.*

The king, perfectly satisfied with what had been done this year, and yet well knowing that it would signify little if another, and that at least as good a fleet, was not set out the next; to raise the money necessary for equipping such a force, had recourse again to his writs for levying of ship-money; but now the aid was made more extensive. What was before rated as a particular provision, to be raised by the respective ports for their own immediate safety, was now converted into a national tax; and so became the more grievous for want of authority of parliament. The burden indeed in itself was far from being pressing; at the utmost it did not amount to above two hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds per annum, which was not quite twenty thousand pounds a month throughout the whole kingdom; yet the making it an universal aid; and the assessing and collecting it in the parliamentary methods, without parliamentary authority; gave it an air of oppression, and made it extremely odious, though the necessity was far from being dissembled, and the benefits resulting from the care taken of the narrow seas, which had afforded matter of inquiry and expostulation to every parliament the king had called, could not be denied.†

In order to prevent all doubts from his own subjects, and also to prevent any false surmises gaining ground in foreign nations as to the design of this potent armament; the king thought fit to express his royal intentions to the

* We have a clear and full account of this expedition written by Sir William Monson himself, who was an eye-witness and a competent judge of such matters, in his *Naval Tracts*, p. 289.

† Kennet's complete *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 81. Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 51. Frankland, p. 477. Whitlocke, p. 24.

world in the most public, and in the most authentic manner, that at one and the same time it might appear what himself demanded; and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his ancestors, in regard to those things, as to which these demands were made. That instrument ran thus:

A Proclamation for restraint of fishing upon his Majesty's seas and coasts without licence.

“ WHEREAS our father of blessed memory, King
 “ James, did, in the seventh year of his reign of Great
 “ Britain, set forth a proclamation touching fishing,
 “ whereby, for the many important reasons therein
 “ expressed, all persons of what nation or quality soever
 “ (being not his natural-born subjects,) were restrained
 “ from fishing upon any the coasts and seas of Great
 “ Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent,
 “ where most usually heretofore fishing had been, until
 “ they had orderly demanded and obtained licences from
 “ our said father, or his commissioners in that behalf,
 “ upon pain of such chastisement as should be fit to be
 “ inflicted upon such wilful offenders; since which time,
 “ albeit, neither our said father nor ourself have made
 “ any considerable execution of the said proclamation,
 “ but have with much patience expected a voluntary conformity of our neighbours and allies to so just and
 “ reasonable propositions and directions as are contained
 “ in the same.

“ And now, finding by experience that all the inconveniencies which occasioned that proclamation are
 “ rather increased than abated, we, being very sensible
 “ of the premises, and well knowing how far we are
 “ obliged in honour to maintain the rights of our crown,
 “ especially of so great consequence, have thought it
 “ necessary, by the advice of our privy-council, to renew

“ the aforesaid restraint of fishing upon our aforesaid
 “ coasts and seas, without licence first obtained from us,
 “ and by these presents to make public declaration, that
 “ our resolution is, at times convenient, to keep such a
 “ competent strength of shipping upon our seas as may
 “ (by God’s blessing,) be sufficient both to hinder such
 “ farther encroachments upon our regalities, and assist
 “ and protect those our good friends and allies, who shall
 “ henceforth by virtue of our licences, (to be first ob-
 “ tained,) endeavour to take the benefit of fishing upon
 “ our coasts and seas in the places accustomed.

“ Given at our palace of Westminster the 10th day of
 “ May, in the twelfth year of our reign of England,
 “ Scotland, France, and Ireland.”

In 1636, the king sent a fleet of sixty sail to sea, under
 the command of the earl of Northumberland, admiral; Sir
 John Pennington, vice-admiral; and Sir Henry Marom,
 rear-admiral.* They sailed first to the Downs, and
 from thence to the north, where the Dutch busses were
 fishing upon our coast. The admiral required them to
 forbear, which they not seemingly disposed to do, he fired
 upon them; this put them into great confusion, and
 obliged them to have recourse to other methods. The
 Dutch, therefore, applied themselves to the earl of
 Northumberland, desired him to mediate with the king,
 that they might have leave to go on with their fishing
 this year, for which they were content to pay thirty
 thousand pounds; and expressed also a willingness to
 obtain a grant from the king, for his permission for their
 vessels to fish there for the time to come, paying an annual
 tribute.†

A.D.
 1636.

* Lord Stafford’s Letters, vol. i. p. 524.

† Kennet’s compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 84. Whit-
 locke, p. 25. Frankland, p. 477. Sir Philip Warwick’s Memoirs,
 p. 117.

A.D.
1636.

Such is the best account that can be collected of the causes and consequences of this expedition from our best historians. But the earl of Northumberland delivered a journal of his whole proceedings, signed with his own and, which is, or at least was preserved in the paper-office. In that journal there are several memorable particulars. The Dutch fishing-busses, upon the appearance of his lordship's fleet, did take licences to the number of two hundred, though he arrived among them pretty late in the year. He exacted from them twelve pence per ton as an acknowledgment, and affirms that they went away well satisfied. It was pretended by the Dutch, in King Charles the Second's time, that this was an act of violence; and that nothing could be concluded as to the right of this crown from that transaction, since the Dutch did not pay because they thought what was insisted upon to be due, but because they were defenceless. His lordship's journal sets this pretence entirely aside; since it appeared from thence, that they had a squadron of ten men of war for their protection; as also that, August the 20th, 1636, the Dutch vice-admiral Dorp came with a fleet of twenty men of war; but, instead of interrupting the earl in his proceedings, he saluted him by lowering his top-sails, striking his flag, and firing his guns; after which he came on board, and was well entertained by the earl of Northumberland. It is farther mentioned in that journal, that, upon his lordship's return from the north and anchoring in the Downs, he had notice of a Spanish fleet of twenty-six sail, bound for Dunkirk; to reconnoitre which he sent one of the ships of his squadron, called the Happy Entrance, to which single ship that fleet paid the marks of respect which were due to the English flag, whenever it appeared.

The king meant to have continued both this method of raising money, and of fitting out fleets annually; and, by giving several young noblemen commands at sea, to have

rendered them the more capable of serving their country in times of greater danger; * but he quickly found this impracticable. The nation grew so exceedingly dissatisfied with this method of raising money, and the great case of Mr. Hampden made it so clear, that a constant and regular levying of this tax was dangerous to the constitution, and to the freedom of the subject; that the king was obliged to lay aside this scheme, and to content himself with using all the methods that could be thought of to awaken the attention of the people in regard to the sovereignty of the sea. † With this view his majesty made an order in council, that a copy of Mr. Selden's book upon that subject should be kept in the council-chest; that another copy should be deposited in the court of exchequer; and a third in the court of admiralty; there to remain as perpetual evidence of our just claim to the dominion of the seas. ‡

Happy would it have been, if the king had at this time called a parliament; and, after excusing the manner in which the money was levied, had shewn how well it was applied; how effectually our navigation had been protected; and all the designs of the French and Dutch defeated; for it may be then presumed, that the parliament would have provided in a legal manner for the maintenance of these fleets, which must have been of infinite advantage in respect of the trade of this kingdom. But it happened otherwise to the great detriment of the commonwealth. Some courtiers spoke of the royal wisdom as infallible, and the regal power as not to be resisted, in order to raise themselves; which gave high and just offence to prudent men: others, in the mean time, that they might

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 299. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 53.

† Rushworth's Collections, Frankland's Annals, Clarendon's History, Whitlocke's Memorials.

‡ See the Order of Council in Frankland's Annals, p. 476.

become popular, heightened every little error into a grievous crime; and magnified such irregular things as were done through necessity into deliberate acts of tyranny. By these means, these nations were plunged in blood, when unanimity had rendered them rich, powerful, happy, and arbiters of the fate of Europe!

A.D. 1637. Mr. D'Estrades, as he tells us in his negotiation, was sent over in the latter end of the year 1637, with a private commission from the cardinal, to prevail on our king to stand neuter, while France and Holland, in conjunction attacked the maritime places of the Spanish Netherlands; and to offer to him, at the same time, very advantageous conditions in return for his inactivity. King Charles answered with equal firmness and prudence, that he could never suffer his hands to be tied up by a neutrality so prejudicial to his own honour and to the interest of his kingdom; and that he would keep a fleet in the Downs, with fifteen thousand men ready to be transported to the relief of the first town which should be invested by the arms of the French king or the States; and as to the assistance which his eminence had offered to him against any domestic disturbance, he thanked him for it; but thought it quite unnecessary, since he depended upon his own authority and the laws of the land for the suppression and punishment of all such rebellious attempts.*

A.D. 1638. The vindictive cardinal no sooner received the account of this conference from his agent, than he resolved to take an immediate revenge; and despatched, without delay, to Edinburgh, Abbé Chamber, his almoner, whom he instructed to encourage the covenanters in their design, with the hopes of assistance from France; and to improve the correspondence which D'Estrades had formed among

* Lettres, Memoires, & Negotiations de Monsieur le Comte D'Estrades, à Bruxelles, 1709, 12mo. tom. i. The count's letter to the cardinal, in which the king of England's answer is contained, bears date, London, Nov. 24, 1637.

them during his short stay in England. This abbé performed his part so well, that the prince of Orange told Monsieur D'Estrades, that the cardinal had employed a very notable instrument in Scotland, by whose practices the king's interest in that country was entirely ruined. *

Nothing of consequence occurs in regard to naval affairs till the year 1639; when the Spaniards fitted out a powerful fleet, consisting of sixty-seven sail of large ships, manned with twenty-five thousand seamen, and having on board, twelve thousand land-forces, designed for the relief of Flanders. The Dutch had two or three squadrons at sea; the Spanish fleet, coming up the Channel, was met in the straits by one of them, consisting of seventeen sail, under the command of Martin, the son of Herbert Van Tromp, who, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority, attacked them; but finding himself too weak, was obliged to sheer off toward Dunkirk, where being joined by the other squadrons, he so roughly handled the Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Antonio de Oquendo, that, at last, he forced them on the English coast near Dover. †

A.D.
1639.

* Rushworth's Collections under the year 1638, p. 340. Frankland's Annals, p. 768. Whitlocke, p. 33. *Memoires de Monsieur le Comte D'Estrades*, tom. i. The reader will find these facts fully proved, if he pleases to peruse the cardinal's letter to the count, dated Rouel, Dec. 2, 1637, which he wrote in answer to the count's letter already cited, and the count's letter to the cardinal, dated Hague, Jan. 21, 1641. Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 129, 140. Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 93. See the letters likewise of Robert, earl of Leicester, the king's ambassador in France, to Sir Francis Windibank, secretary of state, in the *Sydney papers*, vol. ii. p. 562, 599, 646.

† The Dutch historians say, the king mistook his true interest in crossing the designs of France and Holland, and having a bias in favour of the Spaniards. But experience has clearly evinced the king judged right; and with great reason, apprehended more danger from the conjunction of the French and Dutch, than from the declining power of Spain.

Admiral Van Tromp finding himself in want of powder and ball, stood away for Calais, where he was liberally supplied by the governor, and then returned to attack the enemy. Upon his approach, the Spaniards got within the south-foreland, and put themselves under the protection of our castles. Things being in this situation, the Spanish resident importuned King Charles, that he would oblige the Dutch to forbear hostilities for two tides, that the Spaniards might have an opportunity of bearing away for their own coast; but the king being in amity with both powers, was resolved to stand neuter: and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English ships to transport their soldiers to Dunkirk; upon complaint made thereof by the Dutch ambassadors, strict orders were given, that no ships or vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects should take any Spaniard on board, or pass below Gravesend without licence.

A.D.
1639.

However, after much plotting and counter-plotting on both sides, the Spaniard at length outwitted his enemy; and found means, by a stratagem, in the night, to convey away through the Downs, round by the North Sand-head and the back of the Godwin, twelve large ships to Dunkirk, and in them four thousand men. In excuse for this gross neglect of the Dutch admirals, in leaving that avenue from the Downs unguarded; they affirmed they were assured by the English, that no ships of any considerable burden could venture by night to sail that way. The two fleets had now continued in their stations nearly three weeks, when King Charles sent the earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, to desire him to retreat upon the first fair wind; but, by this time, the Dutch fleet was, by continual reinforcements from Zealand and Holland, increased to an hundred sail; and seeming disposed to attack their enemies, Sir John Pennington, admiral of his majesty's fleet, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four men of war, acquainted the Dutch admiral, that he had

received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties who should be first attacked. This transaction shews plainly how much it imported England to have had a superiour fleet at sea, which was prevented by the general discontent about ship-money, and the religious disturbances in Scotland; so that probably nothing more than was done could be done, though some blame fell upon Sir John Pennington in those days.

The Spaniards, however, growing too presumptuous on the protection they enjoyed; a day or two after fired some shot at Van Tromp's barge, when himself was in her; and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board of a Dutch ship, whose dead body was presently sent on board Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards were the first aggressors, and had violated the neutrality of the king of England's harbour. Soon after this, the Dutch admiral, on receiving fresh orders from the States, came to a resolution of attacking the Spaniards; but before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to admiral Pennington, telling him, that the Spaniards having infringed the liberties of the king of England's harbours, and having clearly become the aggressors, he found himself obliged to repel force by force, and to attack them; in which, pursuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended upon his assistance; which, however, if he should not please to grant, he requested the favour that he would, at least, give him leave to engage the enemy; otherwise, he should have just cause of complaint to all the world of so manifest an injury. *

This letter being delivered to the English admiral, Van Tromp immediately weighed, and stood to the Spaniards in six divisions, cannonading them furiously, and vigorously pressing them at the same time with his fire-ships;

* Commelyn Leeven van Fred. Hen. fol. 55. Lettres D'Estrades, tom. i. p. 40. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, liv. xii. p. 193, 194.

so that he quickly forced them all to cut their cables, and of fifty-three, which the Spaniards were in number, twenty-three ran ashore, and stranded in the Downs: of these, three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore; one of which was a great galleon, the vice-admiral of Galicia, commanded by Don Antonio de Castro, and mounted with fifty-two brass guns. The remainder of the twenty-three, which were stranded and deserted by the Spaniards, were manned by the English, to save them from falling into the hands of the Dutch. The other thirty Spanish ships, with Don Antonio de Oquendo, the commander in chief, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, got out to sea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog arising, the Dutch took advantage thereof; interposed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up; when the admiral of Portugal began to flame, being set on fire by two Dutch ships fitted for that purpose. Oquendo perceiving this, presently stood away for Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place, and some few ships more; for, of these, thirty-five were sunk in the fight, eleven taken and sent into Holland, three perished upon the coast of France, one near Dover, and only ten escaped. The first hostility having been indisputably committed by the Spaniards, was a plea of which the Dutch made use of in their justification to us; and, at the same time, it became sufficient argument to defend the conduct of the English government; which otherwise would have appeared repugnant to the law of nations, in suffering one friend to destroy another within its chambers. *

* See Sir John Pennington's relation of this engagement in *Frankland's Annals*, p. 793, 794. *Whitlocke*, p. 31, 32. *Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 119, 120. *Memoires de Monsieur le Comte D'Estrades*, tom. i. See the count's letter to the cardinal de Richlieu, dated, Bergen-op-zoom, Sept. 20, 1639, acquainting him with the defeat of the Spanish fleet.

It may not be amiss to observe, that, in reality, the people of England were not sorry for this misfortune which befel the Spaniards, though the court took all the care imaginable to prevent it; and the reason of this was, that some surmised this to be a new Spanish armada, fitted out nominally against the Dutch; but, in truth, intended to act against heretics in general. At first sight, this may appear a wild and extravagant suggestion; but, perhaps, the reader will, in some measure, change his opinion, when he is told, that in the next parliament there really appeared some kind of proof of it; a popish book being produced, in which, among other superstitious things, were prayers for the holy martyrs who perished in the fleet sent against the heretics in England.* However it was, the bare report undoubtedly was more than sufficient to alarm the populace, and revive their resentments against the Spaniards. Some of our own writers have affected to represent the conduct of the Dutch as derogatory on this occasion from our sovereignty at sea; but foreigners, who are the best judges in such cases, intimate nothing of this kind;† though, it must be allowed, our affairs were then in such confusion, that it is very doubtful whether his majesty could have properly resented any indignities, in case they had offered it.

I had nearly slipped over, as some of our historians have done, the expedition of the Marquis of Hamilton against the Scots, which was undertaken this year; and, indeed, there is very little in it worth mentioning, except to shew how exceedingly difficult it is to come at truth in relation to these affairs. Bishop Burnet, in his memoirs of the Hamilton family, has given us a very plausible account of this matter. He says, the duke embarked at

* Rushworth, under the year 1639, p. 974. Prynne's Royal Favourite, p. 59. Fiery Jesuits, a 4to. pamphlet, printed in 1667, p. 118.

† See Nanis's History of Venice, b. xi. p. 472, 473.

Yarmouth about the middle of April, 1639; that he had with him about five thousand men, among whom there were not above two hundred that knew how to fire a gun: but he does not say what number of ships he had, or of what burden; only that the troops were transported in colliers, and arrived in the Frith of Forth the 1st of May. There he continued for some time, treating with the Scots to little or no purpose; till, the season being lost, he returned without effecting any thing.*

Another gentleman, who lived in those times, and seems to have known much of them, gives a quite different detail; which, as it is very short, may not be unworthy of the reader's notice, in his own words. "Hamilton," says he, "was to be a distinct general both by sea and land, and with a good fleet, was to block up the Scots seas; nay, to my knowledge, he promised so to visit his countrymen on their coasts, as that they should find little ease or security in their habitations: for he had three good English regiments on board him; but the very choice of his ships shewed he had more mind to make war upon the king's treasure than on his own country or countrymen; for he had chosen some of the second and third rate, whereas, the least frigates would have done the greatest service; thus, by the very bulk of his ships, obliging himself to an inactivity. One might well have expected, that he who had so prodigally, as a commissioner, lavished his majesty's honour, and unhinged the government, would have vigorously employed those forces under his command to have restored both; and that a man of his importance would have found some party ready to have

* *Memoirs of James and William, dukes of Hamilton*, p. 121, 139. *Rushworth*, under the year 1639, p. 930—935. *Kenet*, vol. iii. p. 99. *Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 114, 120, 121. *Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 30. *Davis's History of the Civil Wars of England*, p. 11.

“countenanced and assisted him: but instead thereof,
“when he comes and anchors in the Frith, his mother,
“a violent spirited lady, and a deep Presbyteress, comes
“on board him; and surely she had no hard task to
“charm him. Afterwards, the great ships, like the great
“formidable log let down to be a king, lying still, he had
“several visits from many of the great men who were
“most active against the king; as if he had been rather
“returned from an East India voyage than come as a
“powerful enemy.” *

The fleet was from this time forward so entirely out of the king's power, that I think the naval history of this reign ends properly here: and, therefore, having already related, as fairly and impartially as I could, the several expeditions undertaken by his authority, I come now to mention the progress of trade, the increase of shipping, and the encouragement of our plantations, during the same period.

This prince, however, before the rebellion broke out, among others, added one ship to the royal navy of England; which, on account of its size and other remarkable particulars, deserves to be mentioned in this place, more especially as it has escaped the notice of all our naval writers. This famous vessel was built at Woolwich, in 1637. She was in length, by the keel, one hundred and twenty-eight feet; in breadth, forty-eight feet; in length, from the fore-end of the beak-head to the after-end of the stern, two hundred and thirty-two feet; and in height, from the bottom of her keel to the top of her lanthorn, seventy-six feet: she bore five lanthorns, the biggest of which would hold ten persons upright; she had three flush-decks, a fore-castle, half-deck, quarter-deck, and round-house. Her lower tier had thirty ports; middle tier thirty ports; third tier twenty-six ports; fore-castle

* Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs. p. 131, 132.

twelve ports; half-deck fourteen ports; thirteen or fourteen ports more within board; besides ten pieces of chace-ordnance forward; ten right-aft; and many loop-holes in the cabins for musket-shot. She had eleven anchors, one of four thousand four hundred pounds weight. She was of the burthen of one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven tons. She was built by Peter Pett, Esq; under the inspection of Captain Phineas Pett, one of the principal officers of the navy. *

It appears from Sir William Monson, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of those times, who were competent judges of these matters; that the commerce of this island increased exceedingly during the first fifteen years of this king's reign; insomuch that the port of London only could have supplied a hundred sail, capable of being easily converted into men of war, and well furnished with ordnance.† The trade to the East Indies, which was but beginning in his father's time, became now very lucrative; and our ships gave law in those parts to almost all foreign nations. The trade to Guinea grew likewise to be of considerable benefit to the English subjects; and our intercourse with Spain, after the ending of the war, proved of infinite advantage likewise.‡ It is true, there happened some considerable disputes, between the government and the merchants, about customs, which some of the ministers of the crown thought depended immediately thereupon, and might be taken by virtue of the prerogative only; whereas, others conceived, as most of the merchants themselves did, that nothing of this

* A true description of his majesty's royal ship, built this year, 1637, at Woolwich in Kent; to the great glory of the English nation, and not paralleled in the whole Christian world: published by authority, London, 4to. 1637. This little piece is addressed to Charles I. by its author, Thomas Heywood, who appears to have been employed in contriving the emblematical devices or designs, and in composing the mottoes which adorned and embellished this royal vessel.

† Naval Tracts, p. 293.

‡ Idem, *ibid*.

kind could be levied but by the consent of parliament: but these very disputes shew, that trade was in a flourishing condition; for if the customs had not risen to a considerable height, beyond what they did in former times, no ministry would have run the hazard of such a contest.*

But the principal source of our naval strength then, as it has been ever since, was our plantations; to the encouragement and augmentation of which even those accidents highly contributed, which might have been otherwise fatal to society; such as our civil and ecclesiastical divisions, which inclined numbers of sober, industrious, and thinking people to prefer liberty, and whatever they could raise in distant and hitherto uncultivated lands, to the uneasy situation in which they found themselves at home.†

The colony of Virginia had struggled under great difficulties, from the time it fell under the direction of a company, till the king was pleased to take it into his own hands; which he did very soon after his coming to the crown; and then directed the constitution of that colony to be, a governor, council, and assembly, conformable to that of this kingdom; and under which the colony quickly

* Many of our ablest writers of English history, particularly such as lived in those days, and have discoursed of them, speak with rapture of the great felicity of those times, and of the wealth and prosperity of the nation, at the period mentioned in the text. We will instance only a few, though it would be no difficult matter to assemble a cloud of witnesses to verify what we have asserted. Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 74—76. Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 62—64. Bulstrode's *Memoirs*, p. 5. Dr. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, p. 19, 21. Heath's *Chronicle*, p. i. Sir William Dugdale's *Short View of the late Troubles in England*, p. 63. And, for the still farther satisfaction of the reader, we refer him to that admirable picture of the State of Europe in general, and of this country in particular, left us by the earl of Clarendon, in his life lately published, edit. 1759, 8vo. vol. i. p. 70, 71.

† Mr. Neale, in his *History of the Puritans*, observes, that Archbishop Laud drove thousands of families to New-England, by the severities he exercised here.

began to flourish. But this happy situation of affairs did not last long: Sir John Harvey, whom the king had made governor, did so many illegal and gross actions, that the colony being at length no longer able to endure, caused him to be seized and sent home as a prisoner, in 1639. This behaviour the king exceedingly resented; and, therefore, sent him back to his government without so much as hearing the complaints that were alledged against him.

But this re-establishment was with a view only to support the dignity of the crown; for, very soon after, Sir William Berkley was sent over to succeed him, who proved as good a governor as ever this colony had.* The colony of New-England had its name bestowed by his majesty when prince; and was better settled in King James's time than any other of our colonies; and, throughout the whole reign of King Charles I. was constantly supplied with large draughts of people; so that by degrees it was divided into four governments, under which, it is supposed, there might be nearly twenty-five thousand inhabitants; whence it is evident, that the commerce carried on between this colony and its mother-country must have been very considerable even in this early period.†

The Papists in England finding themselves liable to many severities; and being very apprehensive of more and greater falling upon them; were desirous of having an asylum in the new world, as well as other nonconformists; and this gave rise to the planting of Maryland; a country which had been hitherto accounted part of

* The British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372. The History and Present State of Virginia, by Col. R. Beverley, p. 48, 49. The History of the British Plantations in America, by Sir William Keith, Bart. p. 144, 145.

† History of the British Settlements in North America, by William Douglas, M. D. vol. i. sec. 8.

Virginia, between thirty-seven and forty degrees of N. L. granted by King Charles, the 20th of June, 1632, to the Lord Baltimore, and derived its name of Maryland from his queen Henrietta-Maria. It was more easily and more successfully planted than any former colony had been; and the honourable Mr. Leonard Calvert, brother to the lord-proprietor, was the first governor, and continued to exercise his authority till that of the crown grew too feeble to protect him; and then the parliament sent over a governor of their own. *

The Summer-Islands, which were planted in the last reign, and settled under a regular government in the year 1619, flourished exceedingly; the country being extremely pleasant and fruitful, and the air much more wholesome than in any other part of America. † As for the island of Barbadoes, which had been regularly planted about the beginning of the king's reign, it was granted to the earl of Carlisle; who gave such encouragement to all who were inclined to go thither, and most of those who went became so speedily rich, that it was quickly well peopled; and, even within this period, was esteemed the most populous of all our plantations. ‡ The islands of St. Christopher and Nevis were also settled about this time.

I am now to take notice of such seamen as flourished within the compass of this reign, and have not hitherto been particularly mentioned.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT MANSEL.

SIR ROBERT MANSEL claims the first place among these, though the memoirs we have of him are far from

* British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 323.

† The General History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer-Isles, by Capt. John Smith, London, 1627, fol. b. v.

‡ A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes, by Richard Ligon, London, 1657, fol. p. 43.

being so full as might be wished. He was descended from a very ancient, and, in our own times, though now extinct, noble family in Glamorganshire, being the third son of Sir Edward Mansel, knight, by his wife the Lady Jane, daughter to Henry, earl of Worcester.* He addicted himself early to the sea, and under the patronage of the famous Lord Howard of Effingham, lord high-admiral of England, came to be a considerable officer in the fleet; and in the Cadiz expedition received the honour of knighthood from the earl of Essex,† who thenceforward received him into his special favour; and in the island voyage he was captain of the admiral's own ship.‡ Upon his return he adhered to his old patron the earl of Nottingham, and so remained in Queen Elizabeth's favour during all her reign, in which he was often employed at sea, especially in the defence of the coast; and in this service was remarkably successful;§ particularly in 1602, when, as we have shewn elsewhere, Sir Robert Mansel attacked six of the Spanish gallies going to Flanders, sunk three, and dispersed the rest. This gallant action the Dutch, and after them the French historians, having very much misrepresented; Sir Robert in his own justification drew up a complete relation of this service, which he addressed to his great friend and patron the lord high-admiral, an extract from which curious and authentic paper, agreeably to our promise, we here present the reader, mostly in his own words.

“ On the 23d of September, being in the Hope, and
 “ having in my company the Advantage only of the
 “ queen's ships, which Captain Jones commanded, and
 “ two Dutch men of war, I rid more than half-channel
 “ over towards the coast of France upon a north-west

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 293.

† Dr. Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 50. Stowe, p. 775.

‡ Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 189. § Camden, p. 895

“ and south-east line, myself being nearest that coast,
“ Captain Jones next to me, and the Dutch men of war
“ a sea-board, and to the westward of him. The small
“ force at that time present, and with me, remaining thus
“ disposed for the intercepting of the gallies, having dis-
“ missed the Dutch men of war, that served under me,
“ upon their own entreaty, to revictual and trim, and
“ having employed the rest of the queen’s ships upon
“ especial services, I descried from my top-mast heads
“ six low sails, which some made for gallies, others
“ affirmed them to be small barks that had struck their
“ top-sails, and bound from Dieppe towards the Downs.
“ To which opinion, though I inclined most, yet I di-
“ rected the master to weigh and stand with them, that I
“ might learn some news of the gallies, which, by your
“ lordship’s advertisement sent me, I knew had either
“ passed me that night, or were near at hand, unless the
“ sea had swallowed them up in the storms which had
“ raged three days before. Having set myself under sail,
“ the weather grew thick, which obliged me to lask some
“ two points from the wind towards the English coast,
“ lest the continuance of that dark weather might give
“ them power to run out a head of me. About eleven
“ o’clock the weather cleared, when I discovered them
“ plainly to be the Spanish gallies so long time expected,
“ at which time with the rest I plied to receive them by
“ crossing their fore-foot as they stood along the channel,
“ which they endeavoured till they perceived that, by the
“ continuance of that course, they could not escape the
“ power of my ordnance.

“ All this time these two fly-boats were between them
“ and me; and, as the slaves report that swam ashore at
“ Dover, they determined with three gallies to have
“ boarded each of those ships, and could have executed
“ that resolution but for the fear of her majesty’s great
“ galleon, as they termed the Hope, whose force that

“ they shunned in that kind, considering the disadvantage
“ that twice six of the best gallies that ever I saw hath
“ by fighting against one ship of her force, I do as
“ much commend, as otherwise I do detest their shame-
“ ful working, in that, full of cowardliness and weakness,
“ they rowed back to the westward, and spent the day
“ by running away, in hopes that the darkness of the
“ night would give them liberty sufficient to shun the
“ only ship they feared, or that was indeed in the sea
“ at that time to give them the cause of fear, I mean
“ between them and Dunkirk or Newport. This error
“ only of theirs bred their confusion, as you may perceive
“ by the sequel.

“ For they no sooner began that course of rowing back
“ again, but I instantly made signs for Captain Jones in
“ the Advantage of the queen’s to come to me, whom I
“ presently directed to repair to Calais road, and thence
“ to send the alarm into the States army assembled before
“ Sluys, and to advise such men of war as kept on the
“ coast of Flanders, upon any other occasion, to stand
“ off to the sea, to meet with the gallies in the night,
“ which should be chased by me, with my lights in my
“ top-mast heads, and a continual discharging of my
“ ordnance. Captain Jones having shaped his course
“ according to my directions, I gave orders for hoisting
“ and trimming of my sails by the wind to keep sight
“ of the gallies: the two fly-boats, being still a-weather
“ of me, did the like.

“ Which chace we held till sun-setting, observing this
“ course following all the day. They, being a-weather
“ of me, kept their continual boards, that the gallies
“ were always between them; and myself, being to
“ leeward, made such short turns, as I kept all the after-
“ noon, in a manner even in the very eye of their
“ course, between them and the place of their design,
“ ever discharging my best ordnance to warn the Answer

“ of her majesty’s, that rid by my directions at the
“ Downs upon important service, as your lordship
“ knoweth; and the Flemings that were there, having
“ left the sea, upon unknown grounds to me, yet sent
“ from Portsmouth by the most provident direction of
“ her sacred majesty to await the coming of the gallies,
“ upon advertisements that her highness received of their
“ being put to sea, to set sail, who else had received no
“ understanding of the gallies, neither came they within
“ shot of them till after night, howsoever the reputation
“ of the service is wholly challenged by them.

“ Having given your lordship an account how this day
“ was thus spent by me from eight o’clock until the
“ evening, and with these only helps, I beseech your
“ lordship to be pleased to understand, that with the
“ setting of the sun I could both discern the ships last
“ mentioned under sail at the Downs, and the gallies to
“ have set their sails, directing their course close aboard
“ our shore, each of them being out of sight of the other,
“ and my Dutch consorts by this time to have been left
“ by the gallies to a stern chace. When I perceived them
“ to hold that course, which would bring them within
“ shot of the Answer and the rest that were in the Downs,
“ I held a clean contrary course from them, towards the
“ coast of France, to confirm the secure passage they
“ thought to find on our coast, which I continued until
“ the report of their battery gave me assurance of the
“ gallies being engaged with them.

“ How the battery began, who began it, how it was
“ continued, how ended, and to whom the reputation of
“ the service is due, I leave to be considered by your
“ lordship by the perusal of the true discourse following.
“ The Answer of the queen which Captain Broadgate com-
“ manded, as she rid more southerly at the Downs than
“ the Flemings, so came she first to the gallies, and
“ bestowed twenty-eight pieces of ordnance on them,

“ before the Flemings came in, who at length seconded
“ him with very many shot.

“ During this battery of ours upon the gallies, which I
“ so term, because they never exchanged one shot, at the
“ very first report of the Answer's ordnance, I directed the
“ master of my ship to bear up with the south end of the
“ Goodwin, with which directions I delivered my reasons
“ publicly as I stood on the poop of my ship, *viz.* that,
“ if I stood directly into them, the gallies, before I could
“ recover the place, would either be driven ashore or
“ sunk, and so there would prove no need of my force,
“ or else by their nimble sailing they would escape the
“ ships, of whom (once getting a-head) they could receive
“ no impediment; for there was no one ship but the
“ Advantage in the sea that could hinder them to recover
“ any port in Flanders, or the east countries, (Sluys only
“ excepted,) unless I stayed them at that sand-head.

“ Having recovered as near that place as I desired, I
“ stayed at least a quarter of an hour before I could either
“ see the galley, hear or see any of those ships, their
“ lights, or report of their ordnance, which made me and
“ all my company hold opinion, that they had outsailed
“ the Answer and the rest of the Flemings, and shunned
“ sight of me, by going a-seaboard of my ship, which I so
“ verily believed, as I once directly determined to sail
“ for Sluys, with hope only, that the preparation which
“ I know the States had there, would be able to prevent
“ their entrance into that place. Whilst I remained thus
“ doubtful, or rather hopeless to hinder their recovery of
“ Dunkirk or Newport, in case they had been a-seaboard
“ of me, some of my company descried a single galley
“ plying from the shore to get a-head of my ship. When
“ she approached within caliver-shot, I discharged about
“ thirty pieces of ordnance of my lower and upper tier at
“ her alone; myself, with many other in my ship, saw
“ when her main-yard was shot asunder, heard the report

“ of many shot that hit her hull, heard many their most
“ pitiful outcries, which when I perceived to continue,
“ and, instead of making way from me, to near me what
“ she could, I forbore shooting, and commanded one that
“ spoke the Portuguese language to tell them, that I
“ was contented to receive them to mercy, which I would
“ accordingly have performed, had not the other five
“ gallies offered to stand a-head of me at that very
“ instant, and thereby would have left me, as they had
“ both the first two Dutch ships, and afterwards the
“ Answer, with the rest of the Flemings, had I omitted
“ any small time of executing the advantage I had of
“ their being on my broad-side, which, as appears, was so
“ effectually employed, (howsoever the night wherein this
“ service was performed might hinder the particular
“ mention of their hurts,) as none can deny but that God
“ pleased thereby only to work their confusion : for since
“ that time, none hath said or can speak of any one shot
“ made towards them; yet four of them are sunk and
“ wrecked, the fifth past doing the enemy service, and
“ the sixth they are forced to new-build at Dunkirk,
“ where (if I be not much deceived) she will prove more
“ chargeable than profitable, if the default rest not in
“ ourselves.

“ The disagreement between the Dutch captains them-
“ selves, touching the stemming and sinking of the gallies,
“ (whereof one challenged before your lordship, and in
“ many other public places, to have stemmed and sunk
“ two himself,) and the printed pamphlet, containing the
“ stemming and sinking of three gallies, gives the repu-
“ tation thereof to three several captains, amongst whom
“ no mention is made of the first; and, whereas there
“ are but two in all sunk, I leave to be reconciled among
“ themselves, and to your lordship, whether that the
“ same of right appertaineth not to her majesty's ship the
“ Hope, in respect of the allegations before mentioned,

“ every particular whereof being to be proved by the
“ oaths of my whole company, and maintained with the
“ hazard of my life, with that which followeth :

“ First. As the shooting of the single galley’s main-
“ yard; my bestowing above thirty pieces of ordnance
“ upon that one galley within less than caliver-shot.

“ Second. That they in the galley made many lament-
“ able outcries for my receiving them into mercy.

“ Third. That I would accordingly have received
“ them, but for giving them over, to encounter with the
“ other five gallies, which else had left me to a stern-
“ chace.

“ To these reasons I had the assertion of the vice-
“ admiral himself, who told me, whatsoever he spake in
“ other places, that one of the gallies which he stemmed
“ had her main-yard shot asunder before his coming
“ aboard her; by whomsoever she was then stemmed,
“ your lordship may judge who ruined her, considering
“ she made no resistance by his own report, but by
“ crying to him for mercy.

“ Touching the other galley stemmed and sunk, I have
“ already proved how she, as all the rest, had got a-head
“ the Answer of the queen’s not named, and the rest of
“ the States men of war with her, who challenge the whole
“ credit of this service. They, as all other seamen, cannot
“ deny but that the gallies will outsail all ships in such a
“ loome gale of wind and smooth sea as we had that
“ night.

“ The gallies being then quicker of sail than they, how
“ could they by any means possible, fetch them up but
“ by some impediment? Impediment they received none
“ but by my ordnance, which amounted to fifty great
“ shot at those five which came last from the shore, when
“ all the ships were above a mile astern.

“ Some, notwithstanding, out of their detracting dis-
“ positions, may perchance say, that the two which

“ were wrecked at Newport would have perished by
“ storm, though they had not been battered : whereto,
“ though I have sufficiently answered, first, in shewing
“ that they might have recovered any of the places there-
“ abouts before eight o'clock that night, but for me, and
“ then the second time before the morning, had they not
“ been encountered by me alone, at the South-sand head ;
“ yet, for further proof that they miscarried by our
“ battery only, I say, that if one of the gallies which
“ received least damage by our ordnance did outlive
“ Friday's storm, continuing till Saturday noon, being
“ driven among the islands of Zealand, to recover Calais,
“ then surely those two, unless they had been exceedingly
“ torn, would have made shift to have recovered the
“ ports of Newport, Graveling, or Dunkirk ; especially
“ since from the place where I battered them, they might
“ have been at the remotest of those places, about four
“ hours before any storm began. But such seemed their
“ haste to save their lives, as their thought ran of a shore,
“ and not of a harbour.

“ Now that I have delivered unto your lordship, the
“ whole and true discourse of this business, I shall forbear
“ to trouble your patience with any further relation of
“ that night, and next day's spending my time, though
“ the same in their chase had like to have cost her
“ majesty her ship, and the lives of as many as were in
“ her, and conclude with admiration of their not holding
“ her majesty's ship, nor I, her unworthiest servant,
“ and then, and yet, by her highness's grace, and your
“ lordship's favour, admiral of the forces in that place,
“ am not once mentioned, especially since the six gallies
“ might safely have arrived, before seven o'clock that
“ night, at any of the ports of Flanders to the westward
“ of Ostend. And that the Dutch ships had not come
“ from an anchor in the Downs, but for the signals,*

* Signals.

“ they received from me. Then, that the force of her
“ majesty’s ship wherein I was, enforced them to keep
“ close aboard the English shore, whereby those ships
“ in the Downs had power given them to come to fight,
“ which fight was begun by the Answer of the queen’s.

“ And lastly, since the gallies escaped their battery,
“ and had gotten a-head those ships above a mile at least,
“ and never received any impediment after but only by
“ me, who lingered them, as you have heard, until the
“ coming up of those ships that challenge to stem them;
“ which being granted, I cannot see how any other
“ credit can rightly be given them, for that stem I mean,
“ than to a lackey for pillaging of that dead body which
“ his master had slain.”

There were three motives which induced me to insert this relation, long as it is, in this work. First, because the paper is very curious in itself, and well drawn. Next, because it does honour to the memory of its author, Sir Robert Mansel, and comes in with great propriety here. Lastly, as it shews the correctness of those times, when every thing was examined into, and sifted to the very bottom; which made officers so tender of their characters, that they were ever ready, upon any such occasion as this before us, to render a strict account of their conduct, in so full and circumstantial a manner, as absolutely silenced calumny, and left no farther room for dispute.

On the accession of King James, he was continued in his post of vice-admiral, to which he had been raised by the interest of the earl of Nottingham, and remained in favour for several years. When the lord-high-admiral’s enemies had so far alienated his majesty’s affections, as to procure a commission for reforming abuses in the navy, which was equally detrimental to his reputation and authority; Sir Robert Mansel chose rather to adhere to his friend, than to make court at his expense; and with this view, advised his lordship not to submit to this commission, for which Sir Robert was committed prisoner to

the Marshalsea, and continued there some months, in the year 1613. * In consequence of this inquiry, many abuses were however really discovered and corrected, so that twenty-five thousand pounds a year were soon after saved to the crown; † from a just sense of which, Sir Robert advised his patron to resign his high office, perceiving that he began to outlive his abilities, and that his longer continuance therein, might become more and more detrimental both to the public and himself.

To prevent the navy from receiving any prejudice by the earl of Nottingham's resignation, Sir Robert Mansel applied himself to the duke of Buckingham, whom he advised to obtain that office; and when he excused himself, on account of his youth and want of experience, told him plainly why he thought him fittest for the place. He observed, that in time of peace, the best service that could be done, was to look well to the constant repair of the navy; and to rebuild, occasionally, such ships as wanted it; and that, by applying himself assiduously to the duties of his office, he might acquire all the knowledge that was necessary, before any war should call him into action. Thus the duke was brought into the office of high-admiral, by the persuasion of Sir Robert Mansel,

* Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 460.

† This is affirmed by King James, in his speech to his parliament, A. D. 1620, in Frankland's Annals, p. 49. His majesty rewarded the several commissioners with the honour of knighthood, for the services rendered to the public in this respect, as well as for the great pains they exerted on the occasion. The names of these gentlemen were, — Fortescue, John Osborne, — Gaugton, — Sutton, and William Pitts, Esqrs. Mr. Camden's Annals of the Reign of James I. under the year 1619. Sir William Monson, as the reader will find, suffered severely, in the opinion of some, for having devised so right, as well as so honest a measure. A like commission, which demonstrates that wise prince's early care of, and attention to the navy, issued in the second year of the reign of Charles I. directed to James earl of Marlborough, George duke of Buckingham, Robert earl of Lindsey, and other lords. Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xviii. p. 758.

and upon very just motives: neither was it at all to the prejudice of his old master; for the earl of Nottingham had a pension of one thousand pounds a year; and the duke made a present to the countess of Nottingham, of three thousand pounds. This transaction happened in 1616; and, in consequence thereof, Sir Robert Mansel was, by the duke of Buckingham's interest, made vice-admiral for life.

The duke, by his advice, did another thing which was very commendable. He procured a commission to be granted to several able and experienced persons, for the management of the navy, which had very good effects; nay, there is strong reason to believe, considering the great confusion into which things afterwards fell; that the fleet, if it had not been for this commission, would have been absolutely ruined; whereas, by the help of it, it was so well preserved, that Buckingham, upon his impeachment, acquitted himself better in what related thereto, than in regard to any other article. *

In 1620, Sir Robert Mansel commanded the fleet fitted out against the pirates of Algiers, of which we have given an impartial account in its proper place. † However unfortunate he was in the management of that expedition, yet there seems to be no reason to conceive he was in any great fault. It is admitted, that he advised it from a generous and public-spirited motive, the desire of raising the English reputation at sea, and freeing our trade from the insults of these rovers; but it seems he was sent abroad with so limited a commission, and had so many raw and unexperienced officers employed in the fleet, through the favour of eminent courtiers; that from these and other cross accidents, he was disabled from performing what he

* See all these facts fully stated, in the duke of Buckingham's answer to the first article of his impeachment, in Frankland's Annals, p. 188.

† See p. 100 of this volume.

intended, though he did all that was in his power; and is, on that account, commended by the most knowing writers of those times. *

This unlucky affair, however, and perhaps his declining in the favour of the duke of Buckingham, hindered him from being employed in the reign of King Charles; and the very neglect of him, is mentioned as one of the errors therein. † He continued, notwithstanding, in possession of his office of vice-admiral; and lived till after the breaking out of the civil wars, when he died with the reputation of being a great seaman, and a person of unblemished integrity; leaving, so far as I have been able to learn, no issue. ‡

In the course of this work, Sir William Monson has frequently been mentioned as an admiral, and full as often cited as an author; we shall now take occasion to throw together such particulars as relate to him, and which are scattered in a variety of books; in order to preserve, as entire as may be, the memory of so worthy a person, and of the principal actions by him atchieved; some of which he has also left us, recorded by his own pen.

* See an Account of this Expedition, printed by authority, in 1621, 4to. Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 34. Frankland's Annals, p. 55.

† Kennet, vol. iii. p. 13. L'Estrange's History of Charles I. p. 17. Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 195.

‡ English Baronetage, vol. i. p. 489. His knowledge in his profession must have been very extensive, as well as his character as a gallant officer, since we find him recommended by Sir John Pennington to the king, in 1642, as the properest person to seize the fleet for that prince's service; his authority, as vice-admiral of England, as well as his known and great reputation with the seamen, being, as was suggested, likely to meet with little resistance from the power of the earl of Warwick, who had found means the year before to bring it under the dominion of the parliament; but his majesty was apprehensive lest Sir Robert's advanced age, and the infirmities that attended thereon, might render the attempt hazardous, though he had a great opinion of his courage and integrity. Sir Robert at this time resided at Greenwich. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 675.

MEMOIRS OF SIR WILLIAM MONSON.

THE family of Monson has been long settled in Lincolnshire, of which this gentleman was a native. * He was the fourth son of John Monson, Esq. by Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Hussey, and was born about the year 1569. † He went very early to sea, as himself informs us, about the beginning of the Spanish wars, and in the condition only of a private man; his wages, according to the frugality of that time, being no more than ten shillings a month; from which he was gradually advanced to the great commands he afterwards bore. His first voyage was in the year 1585, in which he engaged without the knowledge either of his father or mother; and wherein he saw the sharpest service he met with throughout his life. He was on board a privateer, which was but a small vessel, and in consort with another still smaller. They sailed from the Isle of Wight, in the month of September; and soon after came up with a stout Spanish ship, of three hundred tons, well manned. The crew, however, of the two privateers resolved to board her, which they did toward evening; but the wind growing high, and the night dark, their vessels fell off, and they were left on board the Spaniards. The fight continued all night, with variety of success; but at last, about seven o'clock in the morning, the Spaniards yielded. ‡ In 1587, he had the command of a ship, and was employed afterwards throughout the whole reign of the queen.

In the year 1589, he served as vice-admiral in the earl of Cumberland's fleet, and did excellent service; but in the course of that expedition endured such hardships, as

* Fuller's Worthies in Lincolnshire, p. 163. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 336.

† Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 505. ‡ Ibid. p. 246.

brought upon him a fit of sickness, which detained him in England a whole year.* In 1591, he served again under the command of the earl of Cumberland, when he had the misfortune to be taken by the Spaniards, and remained a prisoner nearly two years.† This did not discourage him from acting under the earl again, almost as soon as he had recovered his liberty, in the year 1593.‡ In the famous expedition to Cadiz, in the year 1596, he was captain of the *Repulse*, the earl of Essex's own ship, to whom he did great service, by his wise and moderate counsel; and was, therefore, very deservedly knighted.§ In the island voyage he commanded the *Rainbow*; and if the earl of Essex had then followed the informations he gave him, he would certainly have taken most of the Spanish galleons.|| In 1599, he had the command of the *Defiance*, in the Downs; and in 1602, being vice-admiral, he had the good luck to take a great carrack of sixteen hundred tons, which, with its cargo, was worth a million of pieces of eight.¶ In 1602, he was at sea again, and had the command of a squadron; in which, though he performed no great service, yet he brought it home safely through many perils.** I have not gone into the particulars of these services, because they have been all of them treated at large already; and with due respect to the accounts given of them by this gentleman in his writings; so that to have entered into the circumstances of them, would have involved us in needless repetitions.

At the accession of King James, no seaman appeared to have a fairer title to his favour than Sir William Monson, whose attachment to his interest had engaged

* Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 505.

† Ibid. p. 179, and 504.. ‡ Ibid. p. 181.

§ Ibid. p. 184. || Ibid. p. 189.

¶ See the *Naval History of Queen Elizabeth*, in the preceding volume, p. 457.

** Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 189.

the lords of the privy-council to place an extraordinary confidence in his management of the fleet, of which we have before taken notice. * It does not, however, appear that Sir William, throughout the course of that reign received any extraordinary gratifications, but rather the contrary. He had the charge of the narrow seas for twelve years, that is, from the beginning of the year 1604, to the year 1616, in which time he did remarkable service; † in supporting the honour of the English flag against the encroachments of the Dutch and French; and in his remarkable voyage round Great Britain and Ireland, to scour the seas of pirates, of which likewise we have given an account in its proper place. ‡

After so many and so great services rendered to the crown, and so many years spent in duty to his country, Sir William had the misfortune to fall into disgrace; and to find all that he had done, and all that he had advised, which, perhaps, was of no less consequence, misunderstood, and turned to his disadvantage. As this is the most remarkable part of his personal history, so it seems to deserve our and the reader's attention on another account, I mean the relation it has to the state of maritime affairs in those days; and, therefore, I shall give as clear and concise an account thereof as I can. It is a very dangerous thing either to offend the great, or fall into the dislike of the many. Sir William Monson was so unlucky as to run into both these misfortunes; the former he incurred through a desire of serving his country; and the latter, by his zeal in discharging his duty on a ticklish occasion. His great knowledge in maritime affairs, and the confidence which the seamen had in him, brought to his view most of the grievances in the navy, which he honestly laboured to redress. This gave rise to a com-

* Naval History of King James, in this volume, p. 89.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

mission for that purpose, that has been often mentioned; and that commission gave great distaste to the earl of Nottingham, then lord-high-admiral, and to those who under him had the chief management of the fleet. It went on notwithstanding; a great reformation was made, and the king saved abundance of money in this article; which, however, did not lessen the spleen conceived against Sir William Monson, for having set this design on foot. *

The other accident which hurt him with the people was this: the Lady Arabella having made her escape, orders were sent to Sir William Monson to prevent, if possible, her getting either into France or Flanders; and though he did not receive these orders till twenty-four hours after her departure; yet, he executed them most effectually, and retook her in a bark bound for Calais, within four miles of that place. † This was the same lady, concerning whom so much noise had been made in the business of Sir Walter Raleigh's plot; and, as she was a great object of popular pity, so upon this occasion many strange stories were circulated, which served to raise the odium for retaking her; though it was his duty, and what the court ought to have looked upon as an important service. ‡ The Dutch too, who were angry with him for his conduct in the narrow seas, found means to do him ill offices; so that upon some very slight pretences, he was committed close

* See Naval Tracts, p. 370; where our author enumerates the many abuses committed in the navy, with the means of reforming them, and which abuses he says, began to creep in, like rust into iron, at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

† Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 280. This lady is in most of our historians called the Lady Arabella; but in the proclamation published upon her flight, and which is extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 710, she is styled the Lady Arbella, and so she wrote her name.

‡ See the introduction to the second book of his Naval Tracts.

prisoner to the Tower, in 1616 : * but, after he had been examined by the Chief Justice Coke, and Secretary Winwood, he was discharged ; and he afterwards wrote a large vindication of his conduct, while admiral in the narrow seas.

He very soon recovered his credit ; for, in 1617, we find him called to council, in order to give his opinion how the Algerines might be best reduced. † In the succeeding reign, of which we are now speaking, he had likewise a great interest, and his advice was asked in all maritime affairs ; but, as he differed in opinion from those who were then in possession of power and favour ; and, as he censured the expedition to Rhé, and that against Cadiz, we need not wonder that he was not employed. ‡ Yet, in 1635, when the king came to have better notions of things, and to be truly concerned for his sovereignty of the seas ; Sir William Monson was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, commanded by the earl of Lindsey ; which effectually vindicated the king's honour, and the rights of the nation. § After this, he spent his days in privacy and peace ; and, about the year 1640, || composed that work, of which we have made such great use ; and of which, considering its subject, I think it cannot be amiss to give a short account.

It is divided into six books, all on different subjects, and yet, all equally curious and instructive. The first book is, for the most part, a collection of every year's actions, in the war against Spain, on our own coast, upon the Spanish coast, and in the West Indies ; a brief narrative ; for no more is said, but the force they were undertaken with, and the success of the enterprizes ; yet the design is to shew the reasons, either why they miscarried, or why

* Camden's Annals of King James, in Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. ii p. 646.

† Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 250.

‡ Ibid. p. 258—277.

§ Ibid. p. 290.

|| Ibid. p. 295.

so little advantage was made, where they succeeded. In some, he is more particular than in others; and, what may perhaps be still of use, he at last sets down the abuses in the fleet, and the methods for redressing them. His second book continues somewhat of the method of the first, beginning with fatherly instructions to his son; whence he proceeds to the peace with Spain, which puts an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being afterwards employed against pirates. He inveighs against the Dutch; shews the ill management of a design against Algiers; and makes very curious remarks upon the attempt upon Cadiz, by King Charles I. disclosing methods how Spain might have been much more endangered; with other particulars about the shipping of England, and sovereignty of the seas.

The third book only treats of the admiralty; that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord-high-admiral to the meanest person employed a-shore, and to the cabin-boys at sea; and from a complete fleet to the smallest vessel, and the part of it; with instructions for all officers; the size of all sorts of guns; all kinds of allowances on board the king's ships; and excellent directions for fighting at sea; an account of all the harbours in these three kingdoms, with many others; and those important matters, for those times, are accurately handled. The fourth book is of a very different nature from any of the rest; being a brief collection of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries and conquests, in Africa, Asia, and America; with some voyages round the world, and somewhat of the first settling both of English and French plantations. The fifth book is full of projects and schemes for managing affairs at sea, to the best advantage for the nation. The sixth and last treats of fishing; and is intended to shew the infinite addition of wealth and strength it would bring to England; with such instruc-

tions as are necessary for putting such a design in execution. *

The writing and collecting these pieces were the last efforts of his genius; for he died in the month of February 1642, being in the 73d year of his age, at Kynnersley in Surry, the place he had chosen for his retirement, and where he left a numerous posterity. †

As for Sir John Pennington, Sir Henry Marom, and some other seamen, who rose in this reign to be admirals, we meet with nothing relating to them of importance enough to deserve the attention of the reader, or which can any way tend to the enlightening this part of our history; and therefore we shall conclude our account of this reign, with a list of the ships added to the royal navy by King Charles I. ‡

SHIPS.	MEN IN HARBOUR.	MEN AT SEA.
Ten Whelps	3	60, some 70
The Henrietta Pinnace	3	25
The Mary Pinnace	3	25
The Charles	9	250
The Henrietta-Maria	9	250
The James	9	260
The Victory	9	250
The Leopard	7	170
The Swallow	6	150
The Sovereign		

* These Tracts are printed in the third volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages. It is very plain, from the prefaces and dedications, the author intended them for the press, though he did not live to publish them.

† Collins's Peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 342.

‡ Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 277.

CHAP. III.

The Naval History of Great Britain, from the breaking out of the Civil War, to the Restoration of King Charles II. ; comprehending an account of all the struggles between the King and his Parliament for the command of the Fleet ; the Revolt of part of it to the Prince of Wales ; the Dutch War ; the disputes with France ; the War with Spain ; and the Memoirs of such famous Seamen as flourished within this period of time.

WHEN the disputes between King Charles I. and his parliament were risen to such an height, that both parties thought the shortest and most effectual method of deciding them was to have recourse to the sword, it was natural for them to be extremely solicitous about the fleet, for many reasons ; and, for this particularly, that whoever was master of that, would be considered as the supreme power by foreign princes. * The earl of Northumberland was at this time lord-high-admiral ; the king had given him that commission, to satisfy the House of Commons, who had a confidence in him ; and granted it during pleasure only, because his intention was to confer that office on his son, the duke of York, as soon as he became of age. † Sir Robert Mansel was vice-admiral of England ; a gentleman very loyal, but withal very infirm and far in years. Sir John Pennington was vice-admiral of the fleet then in the Downs, and Sir John Mennes was rear-admiral ; both well affected to his majesty. The parliament, however, having formed a project of dispossessing the king of his fleet,

A.D.
1640.

* Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 217. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 477. Coke's Detection, p. 152. May's History of the Parliament of England, b. ii. p. 49. Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the Late Troubles in England, p. 91.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 480. vol. v. p. 136. Lord Stafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 54, 67.

executed it successfully; notwithstanding these circumstances so favourable for his majesty; and though he had the affections of the seamen, whose wages he had raised, and for whom he had always shewn a very particular regard, and a very high esteem.* This was one of the most extraordinary things they did, and was of the utmost consequence to their affairs; therefore we shall give a short and impartial account of the steps they took to accomplish it.

A.D.
1641.

In the spring of the year 1641, the parliament desired, that is, in effect directed, the earl of Northumberland to provide a strong fleet for the security of the nation by sea, and appropriated a proper fund for this service. They next desired, that he would appoint the earl of Warwick admiral of that fleet, on account of his own indisposition, which rendered it impossible for him to command in person.† The king took this ill, and insisted on Sir John Pennington's keeping his command; but the earl had so much respect to the parliament's recommendation, that he ordered the fleet to be delivered up to the earl of Warwick, and granted him a commission to command it, as by his own commission he had power to do. This was one great point gained. The parliament then would have made Captain Cartwright, comptroller of the navy, vice-admiral in the room of Sir John Pennington; but he refusing to undertake this service without the king's permission, his majesty was pleased to signify his pleasure, that he should decline it; which he did, and the parliament thereupon appointed one Batten vice-admiral, who was remarkably disaffected toward the king; and their

* See May's Hist. of the Parliament of England, b. ii. p. 49, 53, 91. Coke's Detection, p. 125. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 125. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 478, 674, 680.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 57. Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles in England, p. 91. May's History of the Parliament, b. ii. p. 49. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 442, 473.

orders being complied with, the fleet in the spring, 1642, fell into their hands, though the king was persuaded in his own mind, that he could at any time recover it, which was the true reason of his not removing at that time, as he afterwards did, the earl of Northumberland from his high office.*

A.D.
1642.

It was not long before he had good reason to change his opinion; for the queen sending his majesty a small supply from Holland in the *Providence*, the only ship the king had left, the ships from the Downs chased the vessel into the Humber, and there forced the captain to run her ashore. Upon this the king resolved to attempt seizing the fleet; and the design, had it been executed as well as it was laid, might very probably have taken effect; but through the mismanagement of Sir John Pennington, it miscarried; and served only to defeat the king's hopes for the future, by affording the earl of Warwick an opportunity of removing all the king's friends, which he had long wanted, and now made the utmost use of it possible.†

The parliament, as they had discovered great care and industry in securing, so they shewed no less wisdom in the conduct of the fleet, which they always kept in good order and well paid. In 1643, vice-admiral Batten having intelligence, that the queen intended to go by sea from Holland into the north of England, he did his utmost to intercept her, though on board a Dutch man of war. This proving ineffectual, he chased the ship into Burlington bay; and when the queen was landed, having intelligence that she lodged in a house upon the key, he fired upon it, so that many of the shot went through her chamber, and she was obliged, though very much indis-

A.D.
1643.

* Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 218. Heath's Chronicle, p. 31. Clarendon; vol. ii. p. 480, 482.

† May's History of the Parliament, book ii. p. 94, 95. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 673. Whitlocke, p. 60.

posed, to retire for shelter, or rather for safety, into the open fields. * This service, which was performed in the month of February, was very grateful to the parliament, because it shewed how much the officers of the fleet, at least, were in their interest.

It was recommended to his majesty by those who wished very well to his affairs, during the time the treaty for peace was in agitation at Oxford, April, 1643, to seize the occasion, which then presented itself, of attaching the earl of Northumberland to his service by offering to appoint him once more lord high-admiral of England, from a persuasion that it might be attended with very happy consequences in regard to the king's interest. Mr. Pierpoint, says the noble historian, who was of the best parts, rather desired than proposed such a measure; and the earl himself protesting in confidence to Secretary Nicholas, that he desired only to receive so great an instance of his majesty's goodness, that he might be the better enabled to re-deliver the fleet into his majesty's hands, which the parliament had found means to get into their possession, and which he doubted would hardly be effected by any other expedient, at least so soon. Several untoward circumstances concurred toward preventing the king's accepting this proposition. His majesty was exceedingly offended with the earl's former carriage. He had no great opinion of his power with those of his own party, when he had not been able to prevail for enlarging the time for the treaty; and apprehended he might suffer in his honour by such a concession in favour of a person who had requited the many graces his majesty had hitherto bestowed upon him so unworthily. But what determined him was, he had promised the queen, at her departure for Holland, to

* Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 143. Heath's Chronicle, p. 42. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 85. Rushworth under the year 1643, p. 156.

receive no person into favour or trust, who had disoblighd him, without her privity ; and though that princess landed in England about the time that the treaty began, or rather on the 22d of February preceding it ; yet she did not arrive at Oxford till the 13th of July following, the day on which the parliament received that memorable defeat in the action at Roundway-down ; and, for want of her presence, this overture, that might have been of the utmost importance to the king's cause, was unhappily rejected. *

In the month of September, in the same year, the parliament sent their orders to the earl of Warwick to attempt the relief of Exeter, which he performed with great zeal, but with indifferent success ; for sailing up the river, which runs up the walls of the town, in hopes of conveying succour that way into the place, he found some works thrown up on the shore, which hindered him from disturbing the besiegers so much as he expected ; and yet lying there too long with this view, the tide falling, he was forced to leave three of his ships behind him, two of which were taken, and the third burnt in his presence. † He did, however, great service on the coast of Devonshire, secured Plymouth and other places, and all the time he commanded, kept the fleet firm to the parliament. ‡

So long as the Presbyterian party were uppermost, all affairs relating to the navy went on smoothly. The earl of Warwick was entirely devoted to them, and so were

A.D.
1648.

* Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 150—158. See also his History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 225, 226, 290, 291. Rushworth's Collections under the year 1643, p. 275. Heath's Chronicle, p. 46, 47.

† Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 236. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 94. May's History of the Parliament, book iii. p. 58, 59. Whitlocke, p. 72.

‡ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 281, 336. Rushworth's Collections. Whitlocke.

all the officers by him appointed. Every summer a stout squadron was fitted out to serve as occasion required; and by these means the trade of the nation was tolerably protected.* But in the year 1648, when the Independents came by their intrigues to prevail, things took a new turn; and it was resolved to remove the earl of Warwick from his command, notwithstanding the services he had performed, and to make Colonel Rainsborough admiral.† This gentleman had been bred a seaman, and was the son of a commander of distinction, but had for some time served as an officer in the parliament army, and was then a colonel of foot. When this news came to the fleet in the Downs, it put the seamen into great confusion; and their officers, the earl of Warwick and Vice-admiral Batten, were so little pleased with the usage they had met with, that, instead of softening, they augmented their discontents; insomuch that they seized upon Rainsborough and such officers as adhered to him; set them on shore; and resolved to sail over to Holland, in order to take on board the duke of York, whom they called their admiral, because the king's intention of making him so was a thing generally known.‡

A.D.
1648.

Though the king was then a prisoner, and his affairs reduced to a very low ebb, yet, if this revolt of the fleet

* Clarendon, vol. v. p. 132. Rushworth's Collections. Whitlocke. Heath. History of Independency, p. i. ii. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

† Clarendon's History, vol. v. p. 122, 132. Rushworth's Collections under the year 1648, p. 822. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 236. Heath's Chronicle, p. 175. Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs of the two last Years of the Reign of King Charles I. p. 53. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 182.

‡ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 136, 137. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 308. Dr. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, p. 100. Rushworth, p. 1131. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316. Sir William Dugdale's History of the late Troubles, p. 283. Davies's History of the Civil Wars in England, p. 231. Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 168. Sir John Bowring's Memoirs, p. 146.

had been properly managed, it might have had very happy effects: but, as it was conducted, it is scarcely possible to conceive how little advantage was drawn from an incident which promised so much. It is true the parliament, upon the first intimation of the growing disaffection among the seamen, had directed but half the usual provisions to be put on board the fleet. This might have been easily remedied, considering that Kent was in arms for the king, and many of its inhabitants went on board the fleet, in order to do him all the service they could.* The great misfortune was, that this strange turn was entirely concerted by the seamen; so that, when they declared for the king, they had very few officers among them; and, as they were little inclined to use the advice of any who were not of their own profession, there was a good deal of time lost before they positively resolved what to do; which gave the parliament an opportunity of recovering themselves from the consternation into which this unexpected event had thrown them; and the first resolution they took was a very wise one, *viz.* the restoring the earl of Warwick to his title and command, sending him orders to draw together a fleet as soon as possible.†

This revolted fleet, if we can properly call it so, which at last sailed for Calais, consisted of seventeen good ships; and for the present the parliament had nothing near the same force to oppose to them.‡ They left a ship riding before the place last mentioned to receive the prince of Wales, and then proceeded for Holland. Soon after, both the prince and the duke came on board, with many persons

* Clarendon's History, vol. v. p. 136. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 231. Coke's Detection, p. 185.

† Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 237. Dugdale's short View of the late Troubles, p. 284. Rushworth, p. 1131, under the year 1648. Whitlocke, p. 308. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 102. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, p. 102.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 137, 138. Heath. Whitlocke. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 231.

of quality who were now abroad with them in exile. Instead of considering what service the fleet might best be employed in, those who were about the princes fell into intrigues for obtaining the command; and the contending parties filling the seamen's heads with very different stories, that spirit of loyalty was quickly extinguished, which had induced them to take this extraordinary step.*

A.D.
1648.

In the midst of these disputes, admiral Batten came in with the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best ships in the parliament navy, and several seamen of note. The prince of Wales, upon this occasion, took a very wise resolution: he knighted Batten, and made him rear-admiral, his brother the duke of York having before made the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who was also a new convert from the parliament, vice-admiral.† As the fleet consisted now of about twenty sail, it was judged proper to enter upon action, and two schemes were proposed: the first was, to sail to the Isle of Wight to rescue the king, which might certainly have been effected; the other, to enter the river Thames, in order to awe the city of London, by interrupting their trade; and to enfeeble the parliament, by hindering their supplies of seamen from the outward-bound ships: which scheme was thought the most practicable, or perhaps the most profitable, and was therefore immediately carried into execution.‡

The success of this enterprize was in the beginning very favourable; and, on their coming into the mouth of the river, the prince's fleet took abundance of rich prizes, particularly a ship laden with cloth bound for Rotterdam, worth forty thousand pounds. Soon after he entered into

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 138, 139. Echard. Rapin.

† Clarendon, vol. v. p. 140. Heath, p. 176.

‡ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 141. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 315. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 237. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 182.

a treaty with the city, which ended at last in a composition for his prizes.* The earl of Warwick, in the mean while, had fitted out a strong fleet at Portsmouth, with which he came into the Downs, and anchored within sight of the prince. Great endeavours were used on both sides to draw over each others seamen, but to no great purpose; at last, the prince resolved to engage the enemy, which he attempted, but was prevented by the shifting of the wind; and then, provisions falling short, it was judged expedient to sail for the coast of Holland, where the fleet arrived safely; but those who should have commanded them were divided in opinion, and in such confusion among themselves, that no new course could be resolved on.† The earl of Warwick, who suspected what would happen, and knew they could meet with no supplies of money to enable them to pay the fleet, followed them in their retreat, and sent to the states of Holland, requiring them to oblige certain ships, which had revolted from the parliament of England, to put to sea.

The states were very much embarrassed in forming a resolution in this critical juncture: they were unwilling to break with the parliament's admiral; but, on the other hand, it would have been a reproach to them to have suffered the prince of Wales to be insulted on their coasts, and in their harbours. In the mean time, the two parties being excited by hatred, as well as necessity, to fight, it was difficult to prevent it: both sides at first flattered themselves with the hopes of a victory, because both sides were persuaded the ships of their antagonist would desert

* Clarendon's History, vol. v. p. 156, 157. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 327. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.

† Clarendon's History, vol. v. p. 159. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 241. Whitlocke, p. 327. Rushworth's Collections, under the year 1648, p. 1251, 1254. Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 171, Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 183.

and come over to them. The first step the states took was, to give orders to the admiralty of Rotterdam to fit out every ship they had, with all possible expedition, and to fall down the river to prevent the two fleets coming to an engagement. In the mean time, they sent four deputies on board the two admirals, to beg of them, in the name of the states, not to undertake any thing on their coasts, and in the very sight of their harbours, which might affect the sovereignty of their republic.

A.D.
1648.

The prince of Wales was the most tractable, because his sailors, being badly paid, deserted; and even some of his ships and officers, which had lately left the parliament to go over to him, had now left him, and took part with their old masters again. He had only fourteen ships remaining, very poorly equipped, with which he retired under the cannon of Helvoet, to avoid an engagement or insult, instead of offering any.*

The earl of Warwick upon this began to talk in a higher strain, insisting that such as were on board this fleet were deserters, and ought to be delivered up to him; but at last, finding that there was little good to be done, he put to sea, and returned home; after which, the fleet

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 197. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 241, 242. Rushworth's Collections under the year 1648, p. 1268, 1274, 1278, 1294, 1297, 1307, 1319. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 139, 140. A pamphlet made its appearance about this time at London, intended no doubt, to draw the earl of Warwick into suspicion with those of his party, entitled, A Declaration of the Earl of Warwick, while that nobleman was on the coast of Holland with the fleet, intimating a resolution to join the prince, in case the treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight did not take effect: who was so much offended with the aspersions it contained, that he opposed it with a counter-declaration, dated on board the St. George in Helvoetsluys; Nov. 11, 1648, wherein he testifies all imaginable obedience to the parliament; his abhorrence of such a conduct as inconsistent with his duty and the peace of the kingdom; and a solemn assurance of his persevering to the last in support of their cause; and which, with letters to the same purport, he transmitted forthwith to England. Rushworth, p. 1326.

was put absolutely under the command of Prince Rupert, who determined, as soon as he had the command, to carry on a piratical war: and thus this extraordinary accident, which, properly managed, might have been a mean of preserving the king and kingdom, turned to no advantage to the former, and proved of infinite detriment to the latter, as it divided their naval force, and rendered precarious the trade of the nation. These transactions happened between the latter end of July, 1648, and the close of the same year, about which time Prince Rupert left the Dutch coast, in order to repair to Ireland. In this scheme he succeeded happily; taking many prizes in his passage; and arriving safely at last in the port of Kinsale.*

The parliament, however, had now recovered their sovereignty at sea, where they kept such strong squadrons continually cruising, that it was not thought adviseable for King Charles II. to venture his person on that element, in order to go to Ireland, where his presence was necessary.† Yet the earl of Warwick, who had served them so faithfully, and with such success, was removed from the command of the fleet; which was put into the hands of land-officers, such as Blake, Deane, and Popham; who, notwithstanding, behaved well; quickly gained the love of the sailors; and grew in a short time very knowing seamen themselves.‡

A.D.
1649.

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 201, 205—207. Rushworth's Collections under this year, p. 1361, 1366, 1389, 1428. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 349, 361, 374.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 323, 324. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 389, 397. Heath's Chronicle, p. 240.

‡ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 383. Ludlow's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 290. The Moderate Intelligencer, a paper published in those times, No. 207, in which is the act at large appointing Blake, Popham, and Deane, or any two of them, to be admirals and generals of the fleet at sea. See their instructions in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 134.

As for Prince Rupert, he continued cruizing and making prizes throughout the greatest part of the year 1649, * while the war continued hot in Ireland; but things taking a new turn there, entirely in the parliament's favour, orders were given by the parliament to their admirals Blake and Popham, to block up the prince's squadron in the port of Kinsale, which they accordingly did, and reduced them to such extremities, that his men began to desert in great numbers; so that finding his case desperate, the whole kingdom of Ireland in a manner subdued, all hopes of succour lost, and very indifferent terms to be hoped for from the conquerors; he at last took a desperate resolution of forcing a passage through the enemy's fleet, which he effected on the twenty-fourth of October, with the loss, however, of three ships, and so sailed away to the coast of France; † where he continued to obstruct the English trade, and to make prize of such ships as fell in his way, acting entirely on his own head, and without asking or receiving any directions from the king.

A.D. 1650. Prince Rupert, after he had made his escape, in the manner we have before related, out of the harbour of Kinsale, resolved to sail into the Mediterranean; but with what other view than that of carrying on his trade of privateering, does not appear. ‡ When he came upon the coast of Spain, his fleet suffered exceedingly by a storm,

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 254, 256. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 391. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 298. The Moderate Intelligencer, No. 207. They complain loudly in this paper of the many prizes daily made by the prince, as well on the coasts of Cornwall as on the Irish seas.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 338, 339. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 32. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 429. Heath's Chronicle, p. 254.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289. Whitlocke's Memorials. A brief Relation of some Affairs and Transactions Civil and Military, both Foreign and Domestic, a paper of those times, No. 10, p. 101, 103. No. 14, p. 152.

which drove five of his ships into the port of Carthagena, where they were ill treated by the Spaniards, who plundered two of his ships, and compelled many of the men to enter against their will into their service. * A fleet belonging to the parliament, under the command of Blake and Popham, arrived soon after at St. Andero, and the former of those admirals wrote from thence a letter in strong terms to the king of Spain, demanding that both ships and men, in case any of Prince Rupert's were in his power, should be delivered up, with threats in case they were refused. To this a very civil answer was given; and a ring, worth fifteen hundred pounds, was sent to the admiral, as a token of the king of Spain's respect. † After this, Blake followed Prince Rupert into the river of Lisbon, where, in the months of September and October, 1650, he ruined the Brazil fleet; which induced the Portuguese to force Prince Rupert out of their port; whence he sailed to Carthagena. Blake pursued him thither; but being obliged, for want of provisions, to put to sea, his highness escaped to Malaga, where he took several English ships.

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 339. Heath, Whitlocke, and other writers. We are informed in the *Mercurius Politicus*, a paper of these times, No. 3, p. 579, among other particulars regarding Prince Rupert; that while his highness lay in the road of Toulon, in February, 1651, soliciting leave to enter that port with his ship the Admiral, in order to procure a mast and other necessary repairs, having been separated from his brother in a storm near Majorca, after the great defeat given to his fleet by Blake; the five captains of the vessels mentioned in the text arrived there, against whom, it seems, the prince was so highly incensed, as to have it in consideration to call them to an account at a council of war, for their lives; as well for their misconduct in that business, as for their having left seventy of the mariners behind them, who were unwilling to serve the parliament; and who besought them with the utmost earnestness to suffer them to attend them to Toulon; professing to ask no more than bread and water on the journey, though the officers had a great sum of money about them.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 339, 340.

One of these Blake drove ashore, burnt two more, and forced Prince Rupert himself to make his escape. *

A.D.
1651.

His highness soon after went to sea again, and cruized now on the Spaniards and Genoese, as well as the English; † and having taken several rich prizes, sailed to the West Indies, whither his brother, Prince Maurice, with a small squadron, was gone before. In those seas they did likewise a great deal of mischief, till Prince Maurice, in the *Constant Reformation*, was cast away; ‡ and Prince Rupert, finding the few ships he had left so leaky and rotten that they were scarcely able to keep the sea, was glad to return to France; and arriving in the port of Nantes in the year 1652, with a man of war, and three or four other ships, he was forced to sell them to pay the people's wages. § Such was the end of about twenty-five good ships, well manned, which had deserted the parliament service! and the reader will easily judge how great

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 449, 463, 470, 475, 484, 485. Heath's Chronicle, p. 267, 275. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 233. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 73. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 14, p. 221. See two original letters of Sir Henry Vane; one to Cromwell, then at the head-quarters in Scotland, and the other to Thomas Scott, the regicide, each dated Dec. 28, 1650, with the news of Blake's having ruined Prince Rupert's fleet, and the great terror this defeat had occasioned in the different courts of Europe, particularly those of Spain and Portugal; both of whom, in consequence thereof, despatched ambassadors to England, to acknowledge the power of the parliament; the former, at his audience, presenting the House with a complete narrative of the loss the prince sustained at Carthagen, in Nicholls's Collection of State Papers, p. 40, 41. See also Mr. Thomas Chaloner's Letter in the same Collection, p. 42.

† Clarendon, vol. v. Heath's Chronicle, p. 293. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 494. Life of Prince Rupert.

‡ Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 299. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 233. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 74. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 430.

§ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 513, 515. Heath's Chronicle, p. 337. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 552. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i.

a loss this was to the nation, more especially as it was soon after engaged in the Dutch war.

Admiral Blake, on his return to England, was received with great favour by the parliament; he had the thanks of the house given to him; and, in conjunction with Deane and Popham, had the supreme power at sea vested in him for the year 1651.* The first exploit that his masters thought of, was the reduction of the islands of Scilly, which were still held for the king by Sir John Granville. The privateers fitted out from thence did a great deal of mischief to trade, and therefore might well have deserved the parliament's notice; but there was another incident which made them uneasy at this juncture, and this was the arrival of a Dutch squadron there of twelve men of war, commanded by Admiral Van Tromp.† The pretence of sending him, was, to demand satisfaction of the governor for about twenty prizes, which in a short period had been carried into his ports by his privateers: but the true design was, to drive a bargain with him, if possible, for those islands; which might have had very bad consequences, had it been carried into execution. Admiral Blake, in the *Phoenix* frigate, in conjunction with Sir George Ayscue, with a small fleet, sailed thither in the month of May, and very quickly performed what they were sent for; the governor being glad to deliver up his charge upon honourable terms, and the admiral as willing to grant all he could reasonably expect.‡

A.D.
1651.

* Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 488, 489. The thanks of the parliament, with a full approbation of their services, though success had not attended them in respect to their conduct on the coast of Portugal, had been likewise transmitted to Blake and Popham, in a letter from the speaker, while at sea, dated Whitehall, July 12, 1650. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 155.

† Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 284, 288, 289. *Davies's History of the Civil Wars*, p. 326. *Manley's History of the Rebellion*, p. 253. *Bates's Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 77.

‡ The original articles, a MS. in folio of two sheets, are still preserved in the library of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts.

Blake sailed from thence with the fleet to Jersey, where he arrived in the month of October, and reduced it by the end of the year; as he did likewise Cornet Castle, which was the only place that held out for the king in Guernsey; and thus secured the sovereignty of the sea, in this part of the world, for the parliament. *

A.D.
1651.

Sir George Ayscue, after the reduction of Scilly, having strengthened his fleet with some ships, sailed to the West Indies, in order to reduce such of the plantations as had declared for the king. On board his fleet sailed Colonel Allen, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who had been sent by such persons, in that Colony and the Leeward Islands, as were well affected to the parliament, to demand relief. This fleet arrived in Carlisle Bay, in Barbadoes, on the 16th of October, 1651, and took fourteen sail of Dutch were trading there.

Francis Lord Willoughby, of Parham, whom we before mentioned, was governor of the island for the king, and shewed so good an inclination to defend himself, that it was the 17th of December before Admiral Ayscue thought fit to attempt landing; which at last he effected with some loss, Colonel Allen, with between thirty and forty men, being killed in the attempt. After his forces were on shore, the governor thought fit to capitulate, and had very fair conditions given to him; for which it is thought, Admiral Ayscue was never forgiven by his masters at home. † While he lay at Barbadoes, he sent a few ships under Captain Dennis to reduce Virginia, which with some trouble he effected. Sir George likewise subdued the Leeward Islands; and having thus thoroughly fulfilled

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 465. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 518, 519. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 343. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 326.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 527, 531. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 385. Heath's Chronicle, p. 306. Bate's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 78. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 254.

his commission, he returned into Europe, where, as we shall see, he found the Dutch war already broken out.*

The causes of this war are differently related, according to the humours and opinions of different writers; † the truth, however, seems to be, that the old commonwealth grew quickly jealous of the new one, and began to apprehend, that whatever the rest of the world might be, Holland was likely to be no gainer by this change of government in England. The parliament, on the other side, was no less jealous of its newly acquired sovereignty; and expected, therefore, extraordinary marks of regard from all the powers with which it corresponded. ‡ The murder of Dr. Dorislaus, whom they had sent with a public character to the States, incensed them exceedingly; nor were they better satisfied with the reception that St. John and the rest of their ambassadors met with; and therefore had little regard to the expostulation of the Dutch about their act of navigation, which was certainly a well contrived measure, both for preserving and for extending the trade of that nation. The Dutch, on the other hand, were extremely alarmed when they found the English commonwealth insist upon the sovereignty of the sea, the right of fishing, of licensing to fish, and disposed to carry the point of saluting by the flag to the utmost height; and behaving

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 466, 467. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 327. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 532, 534, 536, 542. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 197.

† Heath's Chronicle, 285, 286, 308, 314. Dugdale's Short View of the Late Troubles, p. 402, 403. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, chap. 98. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 344—346, 388, 389. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 363, 364. Bates's Elenus Motuum. part ii. p. 75, 76. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 256, 262. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 19.

‡ See the proposals made by Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, ambassadors for the Commonwealth to the States-General at the Hague, dated the 10th of May, 1651. in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 182. Nichol's State Papers, p. 39—42. Letters of State, and other Papers, in Milton's Prose Works, vol. ii. edit. 1753, 4to.

so in all respects, that the States were convinced they would act upon King Charles's plan, with this great advantage, of raising money in much larger sums, and yet with far less trouble than he did. *

A.D. 1652. It was in the spring of the year 1652, that things came to extremities ; but it was warmly disputed then, and is not fully settled at this day, who were the aggressors. From the best comparison I have been able to make of facts stated in all the authentic accounts on both sides, it seems to me most probable that the Dutch were the aggressors : and this for many reasons ; but particularly, because they had made secretly great preparations for war, and had actually one hundred and fifty ships of force at sea ; whereas the English parliament equipped no more than the usual squadron for guarding the narrow seas, which was under the command of Admiral Blake, and consisted of twenty-five ships only. †

A.D. 1652. The first blood that was drawn in this quarrel, was occasioned by Commodore Young's firing upon a Dutch man-of-war, for the captain's refusing him the honour of the flag. This was on the 14th of May, 1652, and proved very honourable for our nation. Commodore Young acted with great caution, and gave the Dutch all the opportunity of avoiding a dispute they could desire. He sent his boat on board the Dutchman to persuade him to strike : but the captain answered plainly and honestly, that the States had

* The reader, if he inclines to enter deeply into the reasons on which the Dutch war was grounded, may consult Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 457—460. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 487, 491, 492, 495, 496. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 187, 195, who was himself secretary to the embassy for the parliament. Heath's Chronicle, p. 314, and other writers, on one side, and Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 215, 216, 220, 221, 247—253. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. liv. xiii. p. 307—315. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 52—61, and the Lives of the Dutch Admirals on the other.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 314, 315.

threatened to take off his head if he struck : and upon this the fight began, in which the enemy was so roughly handled, as to be at last obliged to strike. There were two other ships of war, and about twelve merchantmen, none of which interfered ; and, on the other side, after the Dutch ships had taken in their flags, Commodore Young retired without making any prizes. This affair would have been much more the object of public notice, if an engagement of greater consequence had not happened quickly after. *

Admiral Van Tromp was at sea with a fleet of upwards of forty sail, to protect, as was given out, the Dutch trade. This fleet coming into the Downs on the 18th of May, they met there with a small squadron under the command of Major Bourne, to whom the admiral sent word, that he was forced in by stress of weather ; Bourne answered roundly, that the truth of this would best appear by the shortness of his stay, and immediately sent advice of it to his admiral. The next day, Van Tromp, with his fleet, bore down upon Blake in Dover road, and on his coming near him, Blake fired thrice at his flag ; upon which the Dutch admiral returned a broadside. For nearly four hours Blake was engaged almost alone ; but, by degrees, the weather permitted his fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Toward the close of the engagement, which lasted from four in the afternoon till nine at night, Bourne joined him with his eight ships, upon which the enemy bore away.

A.D.
1652

In this battle, the victory was clearly on the side of the English, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, there being two Dutch ships taken, and one disabled ; whereas the English lost none : and yet the inequality

* This account I take from Young's letter to the parliament, dated on board the President, Plymouth-sound, May 14, 1652. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 533. The Perfect Politician: or, a Full View of the Life and Actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 167.

in force was very great; for the Dutch fleet consisted at first of forty-two ships, and Blake's only of fifteen; and even at the end of the fight, he had no more than twenty-three. The admirals wrote each of them an account of this affair to their respective masters, wherein they plainly contradict each other: but with this difference, that there is no disproving any one fact mentioned in Blake's letter; whereas there are several falsehoods, or mistakes, at least, in Tromp's; such as, that Bourne's squadron consisted of twelve large ships, which could not be true. Besides, though he insists upon Blake's being the aggressor, yet he owns, that his flag was out all the time.* The states themselves were so sensible of their being in the wrong, and at the same time so mortified that their fleet, notwithstanding its superiority, had been beaten, that they apologized for it, and sent over another ambassador, Adrian Paauw to proceed on the treaty. But the demands of the parliament were, in their opinion, too high; so all thoughts of peace were dismissed on both sides, and the war was proclaimed in Holland on the 8th of July.†

A.D.
1652.

The English in the mean time, in virtue of the act of navigation, and by way of reprisal for the late damages, affronts, and hostilities, received from the states-general and their subjects, took many Dutch ships. June 11, Blake brought in eleven merchant-ships with their convoy coming from Nantes. June 12, the Captains Taylor and Peacock, in two English frigates, engaged two Dutch men of war, on the coast of Flanders, for refusing to strike; one of which was taken, and the other stranded: ‡

* This account is copied from that printed by order of the parliament, with both admirals letters and other papers annexed, 4to. 1652.

† Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 407. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 207, 208, 210—212.

‡ The parliament were so pleased with the gallant behaviour of the Captains Taylor and Peacock, that they directed the speaker to write them letters of thanks for their services on that occasion.

and, on the 13th of the same month, Blake took twenty-six merchant ships, with their convoys, homeward bound from France. July 4, vice-admiral Ayscue, who, in his late return from the reduction of Barbadoes, had taken ten merchant ships, and four men of war, attacked the St. Ubes fleet of about forty sail, of which nearly thirty were taken, burnt or stranded, and plundered, on the French coast.

After this, while the states with the utmost diligence were getting ready a fleet of seventy men of war, under the command of admiral Van Tromp, Blake, with about sixty, received orders to sail to the north to disturb and distress the Dutch fishery. Sir George Ayscue, who, since the destruction of the St. Ubes fleet, had taken five Dutch merchant ships, was left with the remainder of the English fleet, consisting of no more than seven men of war in the Downs. While Blake triumphed in the north, as we shall shew in another place, Tromp with his great fleet came into the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of either surprising Ayscue, or of insulting the coast. Failing in this, he sailed northward to intercept Blake; but his ships being dispersed by a storm, he was disappointed in that scheme also, and lost five or six frigates, which fell into the hands of Blake, on his return toward the south.*

The people in Holland were very much dissatisfied with the conduct of admiral Van Tromp, which is the case in all free countries, where a commander in chief is unsuccessful. He acted upon this occasion like a very wise man, and one who had a nice sense of honour, first by justifying himself to the states, and then in laying down his commission to gratify the people. The main objection against him was his being no great seaman; and this engaged the states to cast their eyes upon de Ruyter, the

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 258.

A.D.
1652.

ablest man among them in his profession. He accepted the command, but accepted it unwillingly; for he saw that as things then stood, the English were superiour.* The parliament, in the mean time, took care to strengthen Sir George Ayscue's fleet, so that it increased to thirty-eight sail; of which only two were large ships, and the rest, frigates and fire-ships. With these he put to sea in search of the Dutch; took many rich prizes; and at last met with de Ruyter, who, with a fleet equal to his own, was convoying home between fifty and sixty merchantmen. This was on the 16th of August, 1652, and as our admiral was cruising off Plymouth. It was about one in the afternoon when the fleets came in sight. De Ruyter took twenty of the merchant ships into his line of battle, and was then very ready to engage. The fight began about four, when the English admiral, with nine others, charged through the Dutch fleet; and having thus gotten the weather-gage, attacked them again very bravely, and so they continued fighting till night, which parted them; the rest of Sir George's fleet having very little to do in the action. The rear-admiral, Peck, lost his leg, of which he soon afterwards died; and most of the captains who did their duty, were wounded, and a fire-ship was lost. On the other side, the Dutch were miserably torn, so that many of their best ships were scarcely able to keep the sea. Sir George Ayscue followed them for some time the next day, and then returned into Plymouth-sound to refresh his men, and to repair his ships.†

* Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 461. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 536. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. 1. p. 419, 420. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 329. Manley's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 264.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 541, 542. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 265. Bates's Elencus Motuum, part ii. p. 175. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 15. Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 322. Neuville, tom. iii. liv. x. chap. x. La vie & les actions memorables du Sieur Michel

The Dutch gave a very partial account of this business, in which, without question, the English had some, and might have had much greater advantage, if all their captains had behaved as they ought to have done. This the parliament very well knew; but by a refined stroke of policy, chose rather to lay the fault on a single man, than endanger the obedience of the fleet, by punishing many; upon which principle they laid aside that gallant and able seaman Sir George Ayscue; yet softly, and with a reward of three hundred pounds in money, and a pension of three hundred pounds a year. The true reason of this was, his granting so good terms to the Lord Willoughby, which they, however, performed very punctually.*

The war was not long confined to the coasts of Britain, but spread itself into almost every sea; and every wind brought the news of fresh destruction and slaughter. About the latter end of the same month the Dutch admiral Van Galen, with eleven men of war, met and attacked the English commodore, Richard Bodley, with three men of war, a fire-ship, and three or four merchant ships, homeward-bound from Scanderoon and Smyrna. The first day's fight began in the afternoon off the island of Elba on the coast of Tuscany, and lasted till night with little advantage to either party. The Dutch historians agree, that three of their men of war being separated in the night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up so as to have a share in the second engagement. On the other side, the English parted from their merchant ships, which, being heavy and richly laden, were ordered to make the best of their way to the nearest harbour.

A.D.
1652.

The next morning, the four remaining English being attacked by the eight Hollanders, the fight was renewed with great fury; Van Galen began a close engagement

de Ruyter, duc, chevalier & l'amiral general des Provinces Unies, Amsterdam, 1677, 12mo. partie i. p. 9—12.

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

with the English commodore; but being disabled in his rigging, and having received three shots under water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced, as the Dutch historians acknowledge, to leave him. Another of the enemy's largest ships, renewing the attack, was likewise so well received that she lost her main-mast; whereupon the English frigate the *Phoenix*, taking the opportunity, boarded the disabled Hollander; but, being too weak, was taken after a sharp fight of an hour, wherein most of her men were either killed or wounded. In the mean time, the English commodore Bodley, being again boarded by two of the enemy's ships at once, defended himself so resolutely, that, by the confession of the Dutch writers, they were both beaten off with a dreadful slaughter of their men, and the loss of both their captains: whereupon Bodley, seeing himself left by the enemy, after having lost about a hundred men, killed and wounded, with his three remaining ships, followed the merchant-men to Porto-Langone, leaving the Hollanders to cast up the account of the honour and profit they had gained by this encounter. The enemy lost three of their captains in the fight, whom they afterwards buried at the last-mentioned place, where the English and they, being in a neutral harbour, continued very friendly together for some time.*

A.D. 1652. Admiral Blake, who was now in the channel, did infinite damage to the enemy; and, some hostilities having been committed upon the coast of Newfoundland by the French, our gallant admiral attacked a strong squadron of their ships going to the relief of Dunkirk, took or destroyed them all, by which means this important place fell into

* Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 365. Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 15, 16. Manley's *History of the Rebellion*, part ii. book ii. p. 266. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 263. Neuville *Histoire de Holland*, tom. iii. p. 65, 66. Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 219.

the hands of the Spaniards.* The Dutch, seeing their trade thus ruined, and apprehensive of still worse consequences, fitted out another fleet under the command of de Witte, and sent it to join de Ruyter, who was appointed to bring home a large number of merchant-men. After the junction of these fleets, and the sending the ships they were to convoy into Holland, the admirals shewed a design of attacking the English navy, and Blake gave them a fair opportunity of executing their intention. But, when it came to the point, the Dutch fleet covered themselves behind a sand-bank, which, however, did not hinder Blake from engaging them on the 28th of September.

He divided his fleet into three squadrons; the first commanded by himself, the second by vice-admiral Penn, and the third by rear-admiral Bourne. It was about three when the engagement began, and the English quickly discovered their rashness in attacking an enemy under such disadvantages; for the Sovereign, a new ship, struck immediately on the sands, and so did several others; but, getting off again, the English fleet stood aloof till de Witte came freely from his advantages to a fair engagement, which was boldly begun by Bourne, and gallantly

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 463. Heath's Chronicle, p. 325. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 329, 330. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 264. Memoires de Montglat. tom. iii. p. 321, 322. Martiniere Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. 215. The Count d'Estrades in his Memoirs, tom. i. in a letter to Cardinal Mazarine, dated Dunkirk, Feb. 5, 1652, informs his eminence, that Cromwell had made him an offer by one Fitz-James, the colonel of his guards, to furnish fifty men of war, to join the king's army with fifteen thousand foot, to pay two millions, and to declare war against Spain, if they would surrender Dunkirk to him rather than to the Spaniards; which proposal the cardinal approved, as appears by his answer to the count, dated Poitiers, March 2, 1652, and which, as he says, would have been accepted, if Mr. de Chateaufneuf had not opposed it so strongly, as that the queen could not be induced to give her consent.

seconded by the rest of the fleet. A Dutch man of war, attempting to board the *Sovereign* was sunk by her side, and this by the first discharge she made. Soon after, a Dutch rear-admiral was taken by captain Mildmay, and two other men of war sunk, a third blowing up before the end of the fight. De Witte was then glad to retire, and was pursued by the English fleet as long as it was light. The next day they continued the chase, till they were within twelve leagues of the Dutch shore, and then seeing the Dutch fleet entering into the Goree, Blake returned in triumph to the Downs, and thence into port, having lost about three hundred men, and having as many wounded.* For the reception of the wounded, the parliament took care to provide hospitals near Dover and Deal, and sent also their thanks to the admiral and his officers.†

The Dutch writers pretend they lost no ships. They admit, however, that one was taken; but add, this vessel, being afterwards deserted, was brought safe into port. De Witte fairly confessed the loss, and charged it first on the bad behaviour of no less than twenty of his captains, who withdrew out of the line of battle; and next on the states having bad intelligence, the English fleet being more numerous, and composed of ships of greater bulk than he expected. These excuses were certainly true, and yet the people used their admirals so ill, that de Ruyter grew desirous of throwing up his commission, and de Witte fell sick upon it. The states, however, behaved with great prudence and courage; repaired and augmented their fleet to eighty sail in six weeks time; and then engaged Admiral Van Tromp to take the command of them, though some say, that the king of

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 545, 546. Davies's History of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 330. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 426, 427. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 16.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

Denmark drew them into this resolution by promising them a powerful squadron of his ships, provided Tromp had the command.*

This prince had very unadvisedly engaged himself in a quarrel with the parliament, by detaining, at the request of the Dutch, a fleet of twenty English ships in the harbour of Copenhagen. At first he pretended that he did it for their safety; and therefore Commodore Ball was sent with a squadron of eighteen sail to convoy them home; when his Danish majesty declared his resolution to keep them; and the fear he was under for the consequences of this strange and inconsiderate step, induced him to offer the Dutch his assistance. This fell out happily for them; for the English now filled their ports with Dutch prizes, while the people of Holland, suffering in so tender a point, began to lose all patience; which forced the states to hurry out Tromp with his ships, in order to convoy a fleet of about three hundred merchantmen through the channel.†

A.D.
1652.

It being now the beginning of November, Blake, who thought the season of action over, had detached twenty of his ships for the security of the Newcastle colliers; twelve more were sent to Plymouth, and fifteen had retired into the river, in order to repair the damage which they had received in a storm. Admiral Tromp having intelligence of this, and that Blake had with him no more than thirty-seven ships, and many of these but thinly manned, resolved to attack him in the Downs, not

* Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 260, 261. Le Clerc Hist. des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 323, 324. La vie de Ruyter, partie i. p. 15. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 16.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 545, 546. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 330. Bates's Elenus Motuum, part. ii. p. 174. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 429. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 266. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 289, 290. Neuville Hist. de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 68.

far from the place where they had fought before.* On the 29th of November he presented himself before the English fleet, and Blake, after holding a council of war, resolved to engage notwithstanding this great inequality : but, the wind rising, they were obliged to defer fighting till next day ; and that night our fleet rode a little above Dover-road. In the morning, both fleets plied westward, Blake having the weather-gage. About eleven the battle began with great fury ; but, very unluckily for the English, half of their small fleet could not engage.

A.D. 1652. The Triumph, in which Blake was in person, the Victory, and the Vanguard, bore almost the whole stress of the fight, having twenty Dutch men of war upon them at once ; and yet they fought it out till it was dark. Late in the evening, the Garland, commanded by Captain Batten, and the Bonaventure, Captain Hookston, clapped Van Tromp aboard, killed his secretary and purser by his side, and had certainly taken his ship, if they had not been boarded by two Dutch flags, by whom, after their captains were killed, both these ships were taken. Blake, who saw this with indignation, pushed so far to their relief, that he was very near sharing the same fate, if the Vanguard and Sapphire had not stood by him with the utmost resolution, and at last brought him off.† The Hercules was run ashore in the retreat ; and, if the night had not sheltered them, most of the ships that were engaged must have been lost ; but they took the advantage of its obscurity, and retired first to Dover, and then into the river.

Admiral Tromp continued a day or two in the Downs, sailed from thence towards Calais, took part of the Barbadoes fleet, and some other prizes, and then sailed to

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 229, 230. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 437, 438.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 16, 17. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 330, 331.

the isle of Rhe with a broom at his top-mast head, intimating that he would sweep the narrow seas of English ships.* There appears, however, no such reason for boasting as the Dutch writers suggest; their fleet had indeed many advantages; yet they bought their success very dear, one of their best ships being blown up, and two ships of their admirals in a manner disabled.†

The parliament shewed their steadiness by caressing Blake after his defeat, and naming him; in conjunction with Deane and Monk, their generals at sea for another year. In order to the more speedy manning the navy, they issued a proclamation, offering considerable rewards to such as entered themselves within the term of forty days; they also raised the sailors pay from nineteen to twenty-four shillings a-month: and this had so good an effect, that in six weeks time they had a fleet ready to put to sea of sixty men of war; forty, under Blake in the river, and twenty more, at Portsmouth. On the 11th of February, both fleets joined near Beachy Head, and thence Admiral Blake sailed over against Portland, where he lay across the channel, in order to welcome Tromp. on his return. This was a kind of surprise on the Dutch admiral, who did not think it possible, after the late defeat, for the parliament to fit out, in so short a period, a fleet capable of facing him again. He had between two and three hundred merchant-ships under convoy, and was therefore much amazed, when, sailing up the channel, he found Blake so stationed, that it was impossible to avoid fighting. English and Dutch authors vary pretty much as to the strength of their respective fleets; but, by comparing both the admirals letters, I apprehend

† Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 261. Le Clerc. *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 324, 325. Neuville *Hist. de Hollande*, tom. iii. p. 69, 70.

† Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 330. Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 17. Echard's *History of England*, book iii. chap. i. p. 701.

they were nearly equal, each having about seventy sail. *

The generals Blake and Deane were both on board the *Triumph*, and with twelve stout ships led their fleet, and fell in first with the Dutch on the 18th of February, 1653, about eight in the morning. They were roughly treated before the rest of the fleet came up, though gallantly seconded by Lawson in the *Fairfax*, and Captain Mildmay in the *Vanguard*. In the *Triumph*, Blake was wounded in the thigh with a piece of iron which a shot had driven, and the same piece of iron tore General Deane's coat and breeches. Captain Ball, who commanded the ship, was shot dead, and fell at Blake's feet; his secretary, Mr. Sparrow, was likewise killed receiving his orders: he lost besides these, an hundred seamen, and the rest were most of them wounded, and the ship so miserably shattered, that it had little share in the two next days fights. †

In the *Fairfax* there were an hundred men killed, and the ship wretchedly torn; the *Vanguard* lost her captain and abundance of men. The *Prosperous*, a ship of forty-four guns, was boarded by de Ruyter, and taken; but, de Ruyter's ship being in that instant boarded by an English man-of-war, Captain Vesey, in the *Merlin* frigate, entered the *Prosperous*, and retook her. The *Assistance*, vice-admiral of the blue squadron, was disabled in the beginning of the fight, and brought off to Portsmouth, whither the *Advice* quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the sea. Tromp, who was long engaged with Blake, lost most of his officers, and had his ship disabled; De Ruyter lost his main and fore-top-mast, and very narrowly

* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 464. Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*, p. 331. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 439. Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 17. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 298, 299.

† Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 335. Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 551. Echard, Rapin, and other historians.

escaped being taken. One Dutch man-of-war was blown up; six more were either sunk or taken: the latter had their rigging so clotted with blood and brains, that it was impossible to look upon them but with horror. *

Friday night was spent in repairing the damage, and making the necessary dispositions for a second engagement. On Saturday morning, the enemy was seen again seven leagues off Weymouth, whither the English plied, and came up with them in the afternoon, about three leagues to the north-west of the Isle of Wight. Tromp had drawn again his fleet together, and ranged it in the form of a half-moon, inclosing the merchant ships within a semicircle, and in that posture he maintained a retreating fight. The English made several desperate attacks, striving to break through to the merchant ships: on which occasion De Ruyter's ship was again so roughly treated, that she was towed out of the fleet. At last the merchant-men, finding they could be no longer protected, began to shift for themselves, throwing part of their goods overboard for the greater expedition. According to Blake's own letter, eight men-of-war, and fourteen or sixteen merchant ships were taken, and the fight continued all night. †

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1653.

On Sunday morning, the Dutch were near Boulogne, where the fight was renewed, but with little effect. Tromp had slipped away in the dark with his merchant-men to Calais-sands, where he anchored that day with forty sail; the wind favouring him, he thence tided it home, our fleet pursuing but slowly; for Blake, though he feared not Dutchmen, yet dreaded their shallow coasts: however, the Captains Lawson, Martin, and Graver, took each a Dutch

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 337. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 300. Le Clerc, tom. ii. liv. 13. Neuville, tom. iii. liv. x. ch. 10.

† Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 331. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 17.

man-of-war; and Penn picked up many of their merchant-men. On the whole, the Dutch had the better the first day, lost ground the second, and were clearly beaten the third. They lost eleven men of war, their own accounts say but nine, thirty merchant-men, 1500 men killed, and as many wounded. As for the English, they lost only the *Sampson*, which Captain Batten, finding disabled, sunk of his own accord; as to their men, it is certain their loss was little inferior to the Dutch. *

It is remarkable, that, in this fight, Blake, who had been long a land officer, made use of a good body of soldiers, and with all the success he could wish: yet this is no precedent in any but such a war as this was, since these troops had no time to languish or grow sick, but were engaged almost as soon as they were put on board. The people contributed readily and plentifully to the relief of our wounded seamen; and the Dutch on their side complimented Tromp on his conduct, which was certainly no more than he deserved. †

In the mean time, things went but ill in the Streights, where an English and Dutch squadron lay together in the road of Leghorn. An action happened there which deserves to be related, because there appears as much true bravery and maritime skill in the English officers who had the misfortune to be beaten, as ever rendered a victory conspicuous; and it ought to be the business of an historian, to celebrate merit rather than success.

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 335. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 301. *La vie de Ruyter*, tom. i. p. 22—30. *Holland's Mercurius van Het Jaar*, 1653, p. 44.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 335. The States made a present of a gold chain to Van Tromp, of the value of two thousand guilders. Evertson and De Ruyter were gratified with fifteen hundred guilders each, and lesser gratuities were bestowed on other officers. *Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 553.

The English squadron consisted of six ships, commanded by Commodore Appleton, of the burden and force expressed in the following list :

SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.
The Leopard.....	52	180
Bonaventure	44	150
Sampson	36	90
Levant Merchant	28	60
Pilgrim	30	70
Mary	30	70

Commodore Appleton took this opportunity of lying so near the Dutch squadron, to send three boats manned with resolute seamen, and commanded by one Captain Cox, to execute a design upon the ship *Phoenix*, which had been taken from the English in the rencounter near *Elba*, and which, at this time, made a part of the enemy's squadron. This design was undertaken on the 26th of November, 1652, and it succeeded so well, that the ship being boarded by the English, the Dutch were so surprized, that they made but little resistance ; and young *Van Tromp*, who commanded her, was forced to leap into the water to avoid being taken. The action was performed with such expedition, that before the Dutch, who lay next her, were well apprized of what had happened, she was carried away. But the great duke of *Tuscany* being informed of this adventure, and judging it to be a violation of the neutrality of that port, he ordered the English either to restore the *Phoenix*, or to depart from thence. To depart was not without danger ; for *Van Galen*, with the whole strength of the enemy in those seas, consisting of sixteen men-of-war, a fire-ship, and several stout merchant ships, the crews of which were offered a share of the booty if they would engage, lay ready before the harbour to intercept them.*

A.D.
1652.

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 552. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 16. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 269. Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.

Yet they rather chose to run all hazards, than to deliver up the ship. With this resolution they despatched away advice to Commodore Bodley, who lay at the island of Elba with two men-of-war, a fire-ship, and the four merchant ships which were in the former engagement with Van Galen; and it was agreed between the two commodores, that Bodley with his small squadron, though unfit for action, partly from the loss of men in the late fight, partly on account of the merchant ships under their convoy, which were laden with fifteen hundred bales of silk, and other valuable goods, should appear about the time fixed, within sight of Leghorn, in order to amuse the Dutch, and thereby, if possible, to draw them from before the harbour, and so open a passage for Appleton to escape. According to this agreement, Bodley, on the 2d of March, 1653, came within sight of the place. On the 3d, he caused three or four of his best sailors to approach the enemy, who were stationed before the port: whereupon, their whole squa-

331. The grand duke, by his letters of the 7th and 9th of December, 1652, and more at large by Signior Almerie Salvetti, his minister in England, complained loudly of the violation of his port, and of Appleton's behaviour on that occasion, and insisted upon a proper satisfaction. The parliament were so highly offended with the misconduct of the commodore, that they referred the whole matter to the council of state, who sent immediate orders to Appleton, to return home by land, without the least delay; wrote a most obliging answer to the grand duke, which bears date the 14th of the same month, and which they despatched on purpose by an express, testifying their great concern for the accident; and an assurance, that such a course should be taken with the commodore as should sufficiently manifest to all the world, they could no less brook the violation of his right, than the infringement of their own authority, which had been trampled upon in this instance, contrary to those repeated commands to their chief officers and captains arriving in his ports, which was to carry themselves with the most respectful observance possible. And, in regard to the ship *Phoenix*, they promise, after hearing Appleton, and farther conference with his resident, to pronounce such a sentence as shall be agreeable to justice and equity.

dron, as was expected, stood to sea, and gave them chase. This Appleton perceiving, took the opportunity to weigh and come out; but a little too soon: for the Dutch being aware of their design, immediately gave over the chase, and tacking about, fell upon Appleton's squadron with nine of their men of war, while the rest observed Bodley.

At the first encounter, an unfortunate shot from Van Galen's ship set fire to the Bonaventure, which blew up, though not unrevenged; for at the same time a shot from that ship broke Van Galen's leg, of which hurt he soon after died. In the mean time, Appleton was attacked by two of the Hollanders at once, against whom he maintained a close fight of four or five hours, with such resolution, that both the Dutch ships were at length so disabled, that they scarcely fired a shot. Van Galen seeing the resolution of the English commodore, and going, though desperately wounded, to the assistance of his friends, was in great danger by a fire-ship sent from Bodley's squadron.

But another ship coming to the assistance of the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, they renewed the attack with greater vigour. Some Dutch writers report, that Appleton finding himself oppressed by such unequal numbers, after having made all possible resistance, ran down, and would have blown up his ship; but that, being hindered by his seamen, he was obliged to yield. The young Van Tromp, who attacked the Sampson, was beaten off after a desperate fight; but the Sampson was soon after burnt by a fire-ship. The Levant Merchant being encountered by one of the enemy's ships, beat her off, and stranded her. But being at last taken, together with the Pilgrim, which had lost her main and mizen-masts in the fight, the Mary, thus left alone, made her escape, and joined the nearest ships of

Bodley's squadron, which put an end to the engagement.*

A.D.
1653.

Before we can regularly return to the events of the war nearer home, it is absolutely necessary to take notice of the great change made in our civil government by Cromwell, who, on the 20th of April, 1653, entered the House of Commons, and dissolved the parliament by force.† An action stupendous in itself, and which seems to have struck too many of our own and of foreign historians with want of discernment.

They attribute to Cromwell, whatever was done after the murder of the king; and the Dutch historians particularly impute this war to him, and among other reasons for his dissolving the parliament, make this to have been one, that he suspected they were inclined to peace;‡ whereas, in truth, never two governments were less alike, than those of the parliament and the protector; the former acted upon national principles, the latter from private views. The Dutch war was the parliament's war, begun upon the old quarrel, which King Charles would have prosecuted, had he been able. It is true, that Cromwell carried on the war, but it was only till he could make such a peace as served his turn; and our noble historian rightly observes, that it was the parliament's persisting in carrying on this war, that compelled Cromwell to act sooner than he would have done; from his foresight, that

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 337. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551, 553. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 306, where this writer tells us, that the body of Admiral Van Galen was transported into Holland, buried at Amsterdam, and a magnificent monument erected to his memory, at the expense of the States.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 478. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 456. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 554. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 161. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 367. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, p. 405. Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 104.

‡ Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 303, and the same error runs through all the Dutch historians.

if they once conquered their foreign enemies, they would not so easily be overturned at home by their own creatures. *

It must be confessed, that the Dutch did not instantly receive any great benefit from this sudden revolution; but then it must be considered, that the chief officers of the fleet concurred in this measure. The government of the parliament was a government of order and laws, however they came by their authority; the government of the general, afterwards protector, was entirely military: no wonder, therefore, that both the navy and the army were pleased with him. † Some advantage, however, the enemy certainly reaped from this change in English affairs; for Van Tromp convoyed a great fleet of merchant-men of the north, for they were now forced to try that route rather than the channel, and though our navy followed him to the height of Aberdeen, yet it was to no purpose: he escaped them both going and coming back, which gave him an opportunity of coming into the Downs, making some prizes, and battering Dover-castle. ‡ This scene of triumph lasted but a week; for Tromp came thither on the 26th of May, and on the last of that month he had intelligence, that Monk and Deane, who commanded the English fleet, were approaching; § and that their whole fleet consisted of ninety-five sail of men of

* Clarendon's Hist. vol. vi. p. 464, where he proves, that Cromwell was never heartily inclined to the Dutch war, and p. 476, where he shews what the causes were which hastened Cromwell in the execution of his projects.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 339, 340. Warwick's Memoirs, compared with Whitlocke. Cromwell received the most flattering addresses from almost all parts of the united kingdom for dissolving the parliament: but none appeared more hearty in their congratulations, or professed greater submission, than the officers of the army and navy. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 333.

‡ Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487. Davies's Hist. of the Civil Wars, p. 336. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 556, 557.

§ Heath's Chronicle, p. 344.

war, and five fire-ships. The Dutch had ninety-eight men of war, and six fire-ships, and both fleets were commanded by men the most remarkable for courage and conduct in either nation; so that it was generally conceived this battle would prove decisive.

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1653.

On the 2d of June, in the morning, the English fleet discovered the enemy, whom they immediately attacked with great vigour. The action began about eleven o'clock, and the first broadside from the enemy carried off the brave admiral Deane, whose body was almost cut in two by a chain-shot. Monk, with much presence of mind, covered his body with his cloak: * and here appeared the wisdom of having both admirals on board the same ship; for as no flag was taken in, the fleet had no notice of this accident, but the fight continued with the same warmth as if it had not happened. The blue squadron charged through the enemy, and rear-admiral Lawson bid fair for taking de Ruyter; and after he was obliged to leave his ship, sunk another of forty-two guns, commanded by captain Buller. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confusion, and Tromp saw himself obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a stout ship, commanded by Cornelius Van Velsen, blew up. This increased the consternation in which they were before; and though Tromp used every method in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired upon such ships as drew out of the line; yet it was to no purpose, but rather served to increase their misfortune. In the night, Blake arrived in the English fleet, with a squadron of eighteen ships, and so had his share in the second day's engagement. †

* Gumble's *Life of General Monk*, p. 59.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 487. Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 557. Ludlow's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 466. Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 84. Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*,

Tromp did all that was consistent with his honour to avoid fighting the next day; but he would not do more, so that the English fleet came up with them again by eight in the morning, and engaged with the utmost fury: the battle continued very hot for about four hours, and vice-admiral Penn boarded Tromp twice, and had taken him, if he had not been seasonably relieved by de Witte and de Ruyter. At last, the Dutch fell again into confusion, which was so great, that a plain flight quickly followed; and, instead of trusting to their arms, they sought shelter on the flat coast of Newport, from whence, with difficulty enough, they escaped to Zealand. Our writers agree, that the Dutch had six of their best ships sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; six of their principal captains were made prisoners, and upwards of fifteen hundred men. Among the ships before mentioned, one was a vice-admiral, and two were rear-admirals. * The Dutch historians, indeed, confess the loss but of eight men of war. On our side, admiral Deane and one captain were all the persons of note killed: of private men there were but few, and not a ship was missing; so that a more signal victory could scarcely be obtained, or indeed desired. Besides, the enemy's ships were now blocked up in their ports; and the sight of a foreign fleet now at their doors had this farther bad consequence, that it excited domestic tumults. We need not wonder, then,

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1653.

p. 337. I have likewise consulted Monk's Letter, printed in the Proceedings of the Parliament called by the authority of General Cromwell in 1653, p. 27. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 269.

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 345. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 267. Bates's Elenus Motuum, part ii. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 60, 61. See Van Tromp's Letter to the States in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 270. See the letters sent by the States to their ministers at foreign courts, dated Hague, June 16, 1653. In the same collection, p. 273. Mercurius Politicus, a paper of those times, No. 153, p. 2516, 2517. Echard, p. 705. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 208. Rapin, and other historians.

that the Dutch, while in such circumstances, sent ambassadors into England to negotiate a peace almost on any terms. * These Cromwell received with haughtiness enough, talked high, and assumed to himself the credit of former victories, in which he could have little share, † but of which he very ably availed himself now.

A.D. 1653. The states, however, were far from trusting entirely to negotiations, but, at the time they treated, laboured with the utmost diligence to repair their past losses, and to fit out a new fleet. This was a very difficult task; and, in order to effect it, they were forced to raise the seamen's wages, though their trade was at a full stop: they came down in person to their ports, and saw their men embarked, and advanced them wages before-hand; and promised them, if they would fight once again, they would never ask them to fight more. ‡

Yet all this would hardly have done, if the industry of De Witte, in equipping their new-built ships, and the care and skill of Van Tromp in refitting their old ones, and encouraging the seamen, had not contributed more than all the other methods that were taken to the setting out a fresh fleet, of upwards of ninety ships, in the latter end of July, a thing admired then, and scarcely credible now. These were victualled for five months; and the scheme laid down by the states was this; that to force the

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 308, 309. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. liv. xiii. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. liv. x. chap. xi. xii. La vie de Ruyter, part i. p. 30. There are innumerable letters in the first volume of Thurloe's State Papers, which describe the infinite uneasiness the states and people were under at seeing their ports blocked up. The many tumults and other disorders in the different towns occasioned thereby, and the great pains taken by the Dutch minister in England, as appears also by their letters, to conclude a peace. See p. 293, 294, 295, 307, 315—318, 324, 340, 341.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 487, 488. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 311.

‡ Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 346. Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 301, 307, 325, 367.

English fleet to leave their ports, this navy of theirs should come and block up ours. But first it was resolved, Van Tromp should sail to the mouth of the Texel, where De Ruyter, with twenty-five sail of stout ships, was kept in by the English fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their station, and give the Dutch squadron thereby an opportunity of coming out.*

On the 29th of July, 1653, the Dutch fleet appeared in sight of the English, upon which the latter did their utmost to engage them: but Van Tromp, having in view the release of De Witte, rather than fighting, kept off; so that it was seven at night before General Monk in the *Resolution*, with about thirty ships, great and small, came up with them, and charged through their fleet. It growing dark soon after, there passed nothing more that night, Monk sailing to the south, and Van Tromp to the northward, and this not being suspected by the English, he both joined De Witte's squadron and gained the weather-gage.† The next day proving very foul and windy, the sea ran so high that it was impossible for the fleets to engage, the English particularly finding it hard enough to avoid running upon the enemy's coasts.‡

On Sunday, July 31, the weather having become favourable, both fleets engaged with terrible fury. The battle lasted at least eight hours, and was the most hard fought of any that had happened throughout the war. The Dutch fire-ships being managed with great dexterity,

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* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 308, 312. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. liv. xiii. p. 334. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. chap. xii. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 488. Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 359, 364, 392.

† Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 346, 347. *Proceedings of the parliament*, A. D. 1653, p. 28. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 488. Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 562.

‡ Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 347. Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*, p. 337. Gumble's *Life of Monk*.

many of the large vessels in the English fleet were in the utmost danger of perishing by them; and the *Triumph* was so effectually fired, that most of her crew threw themselves into the sea, and yet those few who staid behind were so lucky as to put it out. * Lawson engaged *De Ruyter* briskly, killed and wounded above half his men, and so disabled his ship, that it was towed out of the fleet; yet the admiral did not leave the battle so, but returned in a galliot, and went on board another ship. About noon, *Van Tromp* was shot through the body with a musket ball, as he was giving orders. † This miserably discouraged his countrymen, so that by two they began to fly in great confusion, having but one flag standing among them. The lightest frigates in the English fleet pursued them closely, till the Dutch admiral, perceiving they were but small, and of no great strength, turned his helm and resolved to engage them; but some larger ships coming to their assistance, the Dutchman was taken. ‡ It was night by the time their scattered fleet recovered the *Texel*. The English fearing their flats, rode very warily about six leagues off.

This was a terrible blow to the Dutch, who, according to Monk's letter, lost no less than thirty ships; but from better intelligence, it appeared, that four of these had escaped, two into a port of Zealand, and two into *Ham-burgh*. § Their loss, however, was very great: five cap-

* Clarendon. Whitlocke. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 488, 489. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 562. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 468. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 35. Bates's Elencus Motuum, part ii. p. 176. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 268. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 48. See the Journal of Vice Admiral De Witte of the Proceedings of the Fleet, written with his own hand to the States, dated 11th August, 1653, N. S. in Thurloe's Collection, vol. i. p. 392. Leeven Van Tromp, part iii. Vie de Ruyter, part i. p. 32, 33.

‡ Heath's Chronicle, p. 348.

§ See Monk's Letter, printed in the proceedings of the parliament of this year, and which was written the very evening of the fight, viz. July 31, 1653. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 67, 68.

tains were taken prisoners, between four and five thousand men killed, and twenty-six ships of war either burnt or sunk. On the side of the English, there were two ships only, *viz.* the Oak and the Hunter frigate burnt, six captains killed, and upwards of five hundred seamen. There were also six captains wounded, and about eight hundred private men. * The Dutch writers dispute many of these points, and some of them will not allow, that they lost above nine ships. The contrary of this, however, appears from De Witte's letter to the states, wherein he owns many more; confesses, that he had made a very precipitate retreat, for which he assigns two reasons; first, that the best of their ships were miserably shattered, and next, that many of his officers had behaved like poltrons.†

Some very singular circumstances attended this extraordinary victory, and deserve therefore to be mentioned. There were several merchantmen in the fleet, and Monk, finding occasion to employ them, thought proper to send their captains to each other's ships, in order to take off their concern for their owners vessels and cargoes; a scheme which answered his purpose perfectly well, no ships in the fleet behaving better. ‡ He had likewise observed, that in most engagements much time and many opportunities were lost, by taking ships and sending them into harbour; and considering that still greater inconveniencies must arise from their nearness to the enemy's

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 562, 564. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 338. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 489. Bates's Elencus Motuum, part ii. Heath's Chronicle, p. 348. Echard, Kennet, Rapin, and the rest of our historians.

† Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 313, 314. Leeven Van Tromp, p. 142. See De Witte's Journal, before cited, wherein he tells the states, among other things, he had discovered, to his great vexation, that divers of the captains had retired out of the reach of the enemy's cannon, as well in this engagement as formerly; and intimates, that if they had been hanged for behaving so before, they had not had it in their power to have acted the same part over again.

‡ Heath's Chronicle, p. 348.

coast, and distance from their own; he issued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they should not either give or take quarter; which, however, were not so strictly observed, but that twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the sea, while their ships were sinking. *

General Monk himself was so active, that, in his letter to Cromwell, dated the 2d of August, 1653, he takes notice, that of five Dutch flags that were flying at the beginning of the fight, he had the good fortune to bring down three, *viz.* those of Tromp, Evertson, and De Ruyter; † and so long he continued in the heat of the dispute, that his ship, the Resolution, was at last towed out of the line: and, indeed, most of the great vessels had been so roughly handled, that there was no continuing on the enemy's coast any longer, without danger of their sinking.

A.D.
1653.

The parliament then sitting, who were of Cromwell's appointment, upon the 8th of August, 1653, ordered gold chains to be sent to the generals Blake and Monk, and likewise to vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Lawson; they sent also chains to the rest of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of August was appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving; ‡ and, Monk being then in town, Cromwell, at a great feast in the city, put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time. § As for the states, they supported their loss with inexpressible courage and constancy; they buried Tromp very magnificently at the public expense; ||

* Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 62.

† Proceedings of the Parliament, p. 33. where there is an extract only; but I have seen a copy of the entire letter.

‡ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 563, 564. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 338. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 269. Parliamentary Proceedings, p. 30, 45.

§ Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 77.

|| Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 315, 316. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. liv. xiii. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 83. Various medals were struck by order of the states to perpetuate to latest posterity the great and gal-

and, as soon as the return of the English fleet permitted, sent De Witte with a fleet of fifty men of war and five fire-ships to the sound, in order to convoy home a fleet of 300 merchantmen, there assembled from different quarters.*

This he performed very happily, though the English fleet did all that was possible to intercept him: but the joy which the Dutch conceived upon this occasion, was soon qualified by accidents of another sort; for an English squadron, falling in with a large fleet of merchant-men in the mouth of the Ulie, took most of them; and admiral Lawson, sailing to the north, destroyed their herring-fishing for that year, and either took or sunk most of the frigates sent to protect them; besides, a great storm drove twelve or thirteen of their best men of war from their anchors, so that, running on shore, they were lost. †

A.D.
1653.

The negociation carried on by the Dutch ministers at London met at first with many difficulties. The terms prescribed were in number many, and in their nature hard, insomuch that it is scarcely to be conceived, that the Dutch could ever have submitted to them; but an accident, if, indeed, the effect of Cromwell's intrigues ought to be called so, delivered them out of their distress. The parliament, on the 12th of December, 1653, took a sudden resolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came, *viz.* the lord General Cromwell, who soon after took upon him the supreme magistracy, under

lant actions of this distinguished hero, independently of the sumptuous monument erected to his memory in the church of Delft. They painted him after death, with a laurel crown, as supposing him victorious over the English. Hymns, songs, and elegant poems, were written in his praise by the most celebrated wits of those times. Nothing was omitted by the Dutch nation that could testify the great loss they had sustained, or manifest the people's gratitude. Gerard Van Loon *Hist. Metallique des Pays Bays*, tom. ii. p. 364.

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 564, 568. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 317.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 49. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 564. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 317.

the title of Protector. * He quickly admitted the Dutch to a treaty upon softer conditions, though he affected to make use of high terms, and to behave toward their ambassadors with a great deal of haughtiness; which, for the sake of their country's interest, they knew well enough how to bear.

A.D.
1654.

This treaty ended in a peace, which was made the 4th of April, 1654. In this negociation, the coalition, upon which the parliament had insisted, was entirely dropped. No mention at all was made of our sole right to fishing on our own coast, or any annual tribute secured to us for the Dutch fishing in our seas, which had been actually paid to King Charles, and was offered to the parliament; though Cromwell, because his administration stood in need of peace, thought fit to dispense with it. He likewise gave up all claim to the searching Dutch ships, which the parliament had rigorously insisted upon. The right of limiting the number of their ships of war was another of their articles that he overlooked; neither did he oblige them to grant the English a free navigation on the river Scheldt. † But it is now time to see the terms to which he held them.

It was in the first place stipulated, that such as could be found of the persons concerned in the massacre at Amboyna should be delivered up to justice. This was very specious, and calculated to give the people a high idea of the protector's patriotism; who thus compelled the Dutch to make satisfaction for an offence, which the two

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 484, 485. Heath's Chronicle, p. 353. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 570. Ludlow's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 474. Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles, p. 411. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 637.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 357. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 337. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 487. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 583. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 372. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 176. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 74. *Flagellum on the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 147. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. and ii.

former kings could never bring them to acknowledge. But, as this article was never executed, so we may reasonably conclude, that the Dutch knew the protector's mind before they made him this boasted concession. They acknowledged the dominion of the English at sea, by consenting to strike the flag; they submitted to the act of navigation; undertook to give the East India Company satisfaction for the losses they had sustained; and, by a private article, bound themselves never to elect any of the house of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder.*

Thus, taking all things together, this ought rather to be considered as a close conjunction between the new protector of England and the Louvestein faction in Holland, than an alliance between the two nations: for, though it be true that some regard was had in this treaty to the honour and interest of England, yet, considering our success in that war, and the situation things were in at the conclusion of it, there can be no reason to doubt, that, if the parliament, which begun the war, had ended it, they would have done it upon much better terms in respect both of profit and glory.

Hostilities between the two states had not continued quite two years, and yet, in that time, the English took no less than one thousand seven hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch themselves at sixty-two millions of guilders, or nearly six millions sterling. On the contrary, those taken by the Dutch could not amount to the fourth part either in number or value. Within that period, the English were victorious in no less than five general battles, some of which were of several days; whereas the Hollanders cannot justly boast of having gained one; for the action between De Ruyter and Ayscue, in which they pretended some advantage, was no general fight; and the advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs, is owned to have been

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 489. *Corps Diplomatique du droit des gens*, tom. vi. part ii. p. 74—80.

gained over a part only of the English fleet. As short as this quarrel was, it brought the Dutch to greater extremities than their fourscore years war with Spain. The states shewed great wisdom in one point, viz. including their ally the king of Denmark in this treaty, by undertaking that either he or they should make satisfaction for the English ships which had been seized at the beginning of the war in his port. *

The rupture between France and England still continued; our ships of war taking, sinking, or burning theirs wherever they met them; and the French privateers disturbing our commerce as much as they were able. † An attempt was made by the French ministry to have gotten France, as well as Denmark, included in the peace made with the States; but Cromwell would not hear of this, because he knew how to make his advantage of the difficulties the French then laboured under another way; in which he succeeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655, to submit to his own terms, and to give up the interests of the royal family, notwithstanding their near relation to the house of Bourbon. He likewise obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce; and without question, his conduct with regard to France would have deserved commendation; if, for the sake of securing his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of cardinal Mazarine, and thereby contributed to the aggrandizing of a power which has been terrible to Europe ever since, ‡ and which he might have reduced within just bounds, if he had so pleased.

* Verwerd Europa, p. 122. Interest van Holland, p. 34. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 335. Le Clerc Hist. des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. liv. xiii. p. 340—348. Neuville Hist. de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 87. Aitzema Zaaken Van Staat en Oorl, iii. deel. fol. 804—931. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 589.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 504. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 583, 584, 590. Heath's Chronicle, p. 356, 357.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 503. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 352. See the speech made by Monsieur

He did not discover his intentions in this respect all at once, but by degrees only, and as they became necessary. He affected to have his friendship earnestly solicited both by France and Spain; and even declared publicly, that he would give it to the court which deserved best, or, in plain terms, bid highest for it. * The first sign of his reconciliation to the French, was, the restoring the ships taken by Blake, with provisions and ammunition for the garrison of Dunkirk; and yet nothing of confidence appeared then between the cardinal and him, though it is generally supposed, that the primary as well as principal instigation to the Spanish war came from him, who gave the protector to understand, that the English maritime force could not be better employed, than in conquering part of the Spanish West Indies, while France attacked the same crown in Europe; and, to purchase his assistance, would readily relinquish the royal family, and so rid him from all fears of an invasion. † Besides these hints from abroad, the protector had some notices of a like nature at home, especially from one Gage, a priest, who had been long in America, and who furnished him with a copious

Chanut, the French ambassador to the States, upon that occasion, in Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 515—632. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 558, 559. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 373. The whole progress of this treaty, and the insuperable difficulties attending the concluding it, may be seen in Thurloe's Collection, vol. ii. p. 159, 228, 566, 629; vol. iii. p. 311, 312, 313, 368, 381, 415, 696, 734; vol. iv. p. 75, 115. See a Letter of the cardinal to Monsieur Bourdeaux, the French ambassador in England, expressing the great joy it gave him, that the treaty was at length accomplished, p. 120, 259.

* See Mr. Thurloe's account of the negotiations between England, France, and Spain, from the time of Oliver Cromwell's assuming the government to the Restoration, delivered to the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, in Thurloe's Collections, vol. i. p. 759.

† Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 508. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365, 369. Whitlocke's Memorials. See Mr. George Downing's Letter to Secretary Thurloe, in Thurloe's Collections, vol. iii. p. 734.

account of the wealth and weakness of the Spaniards there. *

A.D.
1654.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Dutch war, the protector ordered all the ships of his navy to be repaired, and put into good condition. He likewise directed many new ones to be built; storehouses, magazines, &c. to be filled with ammunition and provision; whence it was evident enough, that he intended not to be idle, though no body knew against whom this mighty force was to be exerted. † In the summer of the year 1654, he ordered two great fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by admiral Blake, and the other by vice-admiral Penn. Neither of these had any knowledge of what the other was to attempt; so far from it, they knew not perfectly what themselves were to perform. ‡ Their orders were to be opened at sea; and they had no farther

* See a curious paper entitled, "Some brief and true Observations concerning the West Indies, humbly presented to his Highness Oliver, Lord-Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by Thomas Gage," in Thurloe's Collections, vol. iii. p. 59. He wrote a book likewise, entitled, "A Survey of the West Indies," of which the first edition was in folio, and there have been several in octavo; but these latter want a chapter, which is the most curious in the whole book.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 577. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 621. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 493. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 346. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 212. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 400.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 576. Penn's sailors mutinied at Portsmouth, some of them threatening to lay their grievances before the protector; their complaints were the badness of the provisions; the hardships they sustained in being sent upon an expedition already known to all the world; and the still greater difficulty they laboured under of being compelled to go whether they would or not; insisting to be listed by beat of drum as in the Netherlands. The provisions were changed, and Desborough and Penn with some difficulty pacified them, as to the other two articles. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 709. See the protector's commission to Venables, in Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 16.

lights given them than were absolutely requisite for making the necessary preparations. Blake, as soon as all things were ready, put to sea, and sailed into the straits; where his orders were to procure satisfaction from such princes and states, as had either insulted the government, or injured the commerce of England. But, before his departure, it had been industriously given out, that he was to intercept the duke of Guise, and to protect the kingdom of Naples from the French.

This had the desired effect; it lulled the Spaniards into a false security, and even disposed them to shew the admiral all possible civilities, who very probably had himself as yet no suspicion of Cromwell's design to break with that nation. The first place he went to was Leghorn, where he had two accounts to make up with the grand duke; the first was, for his subjects purchasing the prizes made by Prince Rupert; the other, for the damage done by Van Galen, when Appleton was forced out of Leghorn road. These demands surprised the prince on whom they were made; especially when he understood how large a sum was expected from him, not less in the whole than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which, however, was moderated to sixty thousand pounds; and this sum there is reason to believe was actually paid. *

A.D.
1654.

Thence he proceeded to Algiers, where he arrived the 10th of March, 1655, and anchored without the mole, sending an officer to the dey, to demand satisfaction for the piracies that had been formerly committed on the English,

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 345. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 609. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 507. Thurloe's Collections, vol. iii. p. 41, 103. Most of the princes of Italy were alarmed at the sailing of this fleet. The pope was no sooner informed of its arrival in the Mediterranean, than he gave orders for the removal of the great treasure at Loretto, with a view of defeating any design the protector might have formed, as to the plundering that rich monastery, which some industriously spread abroad, (not knowing the real secret,) was his principal aim.

and the immediate release of all captives belonging to his nation. The dey answered very modestly, that as for the ships and slaves they were now the property of private persons, from whom he could not take them with safety to himself; but that he would make it his care they should be speedily redeemed upon easy terms; and would make a treaty with him to prevent any hostilities being committed on the English for the future. *

A.D.
1654.

The admiral left the port upon this, and sailed to Tunis, where he sent the like message on shore; but received a very short answer, viz. "Here are our castles of Guletta and Porto Ferino: you may do your worst; we do not fear you." Blake entered the bay of Porto Ferino, and came within musket-shot of the castle and line, upon both which he played so warmly, that they were soon in a defenceless condition. There were then nine ships in the road, which the admiral resolved to burn; and with this view ordered every captain to man his long-boat with choice men, and directed these to enter the harbour, and fire the ships of Tunis; while he and his fleet covered them from the castle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The seamen in their boats, boldly assaulted the corsairs, and burnt all their ships, with the loss of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action spread the terror of his name, which had long been formidable in Europe, through Africa and Asia. † From Tunis he sailed to Tripoly, and concluded a peace with that government. Thence he returned to

* Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 580. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 349. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 205. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 273. *Vie de Cromwell*, tom. ii. p. 348, 349.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 627. Heath's Chronicle, p. 374, 375. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 377. See Admiral Blake's Letter to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, dated on board the George, in Calary bay, the 17th of April, 1655, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 390. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 220.

Tunis, and threatening to do farther execution, the inhabitants implored his mercy from their works, and begged him to grant them a peace, which he did on terms mortifying to them, glorious for himself, and profitable for his country. *

The other fleet being also in readiness, and composed of about thirty ships of war, and a convenient number of transports, the protector resolved it should sail in the month of December, 1654. Admiral Penn had the chief command, and under him were vice-admiral Goodson, and rear-admiral Blagge. The commander of the land forces was Colonel Venables, an old officer, who, as well as the admiral, was secretly in the king's interest, and intended to have laid hold of this opportunity to restore him. The troops consisted of about five thousand men, amongst whom many were royalists; and the rest so little satisfied with the protector's administration, that one great end of this expedition was to be rid of them. †

Venables had desired of Cromwell, that great care might be taken in furnishing arms and ammunition; that his forces might be properly chosen, and that himself might not be fettered by his instructions. In all these he soon found himself disappointed; his provision was not only short, but very bad in its kind; arms and ammunition were very sparingly supplied, and in a manner fitter for shew than service; his troops were either raw or invalids; and by his instructions, he was tied up from doing any thing without the consent of others. ‡ Before he could

* Echard, Kennet, Rapin, and other English historians. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 405, 527. See the Protector's Letter to Blake, dated June 13, 1655, commending his courage and conduct, p. 547.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 576. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185.

‡ The only just and genuine account of this expedition, is to be found in Burchet's Naval History, which was drawn up at the time, from the examination of Penn, Venables, and the superior officers in that expedition.

acquire any certain knowledge of these particulars, he was hurried on board at Portsmouth, whence he immediately sailed for Barbadoes. *

A.D.
1655.

The fleet arrived in Carlisle bay, on the 29th of January, 1655, and were very joyfully received by all the inhabitants of the island of Barbadoes, where they staid some time, in order to recruit and make the necessary preparations for their intended descent on the island of Hispaniola. We have been long taught blindly to admire the wisdom and conduct of Cromwell, in his enterprizes; but certainly this was the worst managed that ever our nation undertook. General Venables found himself deficient in all sorts of necessaries; and, which was worse, found admiral Penn very little inclined to afford him even the assistance that was in his power. He expostulated with him to no purpose; which made the wretchedness of his and their condition so apparent, that one of their fellow-commissioners said plainly, "He doubted they were betrayed." It was, however, too late to look back; and, besides, abundance of volunteers resorted to Barbadoes from all our plantations, in order to share the riches that were to be taken from the Spaniards; so that Venables saw himself under a necessity of proceeding, notwithstanding he was thoroughly satisfied they were in no condition to proceed. †

From Barbadoes, the fleet sailed on the last of March, to St. Christopher's, where they met with another supply

* Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 365. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 349. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 346. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 494. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 270. See Mr. Edward Winsloe's Letter to Secretary Thurloe, dated Barbadoes, March 16, 1654. This gentleman, as some say, was intended to have been governor of one of the islands, if death had not interposed. The post he filled appears clearly in his letter. Gage, the priest, the principal promoter of this business, died likewise. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 249.

of volunteers ; so that when they embarked for Hispaniola, Venables had under his command the greatest body of European troops that had ever been seen in that part of the world, his army consisting of very nearly ten thousand men. It must, however, be observed, that they were in the worst temper in the world for making conquests. Most of them, when they left England, did it with a view to make their fortunes ; but now, the commissioners, of whom Venables indeed was one, but of a different opinion from all the rest, told them, that every penny of their plunder was to be accounted for ; and that they could only allow them a fortnight's pay by way of equivalent. This had nearly thrown them into a general mutiny ; and it was with much ado that the officers pacified them with a promise of six weeks pay, which the commissioners, however, could not be brought to confirm ; and in this situation things were, when they embarked for Hispaniola. *

They arrived before the city of St. Domingo, and General Venables proposed, that they should sail directly into the harbour, which, however, was not agreed to by the sea-officers, who proposed landing at the river Hine ; for which purpose, part of the squadron was detached under the command of Vice-Admiral Goodson, who, when at sea, declared he had no pilots to conduct the ships into the mouth of the river, and therefore the troops were compelled to land at the west point, from whence they had forty miles to march through a thick woody country, without any guide ; insomuch, that numbers of men and horses, through fatigue, extremity of heat, and want of water, were destroyed.

After four days march, the army came to the place where they might have been at first put on shore ; but by

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 369. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 209. Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 51. The Perfect Politician, of the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 214, 215. Manley's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 271.

that time the enemy had drawn together the whole force of the island, and had recovered from their first surprize. Colonel Buller, who had landed with his regiment near Hine river, and had orders to remain there till the army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of Cox the guide, to march away; and, for want of this guide, the general and his forces marched ten or twelve miles out of their road. Exasperated with these disappointments, and the hardships they had undergone; the regiment of seamen, under the command of admiral Goodson, mutinied first, and then the land-troops; so that the general had much ado to prevail on them to ford the river. At length, Colonel Buller and Cox the guide joined them, and promised to conduct them to a place where they might be supplied with water; but the colonel taking the liberty of straggling for the sake of pillage, the Spaniards attacked him, and in one of these skirmishes, Cox, their only guide, was killed; yet the Spaniards were at last repulsed, and pursued within cannon shot of the town. *

In this distressed condition, a council of war was called, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to march to the harbour in the best manner they could, which, with much difficulty, they effected. There they staid three or four days, to furnish themselves with provisions, and other necessaries; and then with a single mortar-piece, marched into the island again, to reduce the fort. The vanguard was commanded by adjutant-general Jackson, who as soon as he was attacked by the Spaniards, ran away, and his troops after him. The passage through the woods being very narrow, they pressed on the general's regiment, who in vain endeavoured to stop them with their pikes. They likewise

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 370. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 347. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 271, 272. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 215, 216. Burchet's Naval History, p. 393.

disordered major-general Haines's regiment, which gave the enemy, who followed very eagerly, and afforded no quarter, great advantage; so that the major-general, and the bravest of the officers, who, like Englishmen, preferred death before flight, ended their days here. At last, general Venables and vice-admiral Goodson, at the head of their regiments, forced the run-aways into the wood, obliged the enemy to retire, and kept their own ground, notwithstanding the fire from the fort was very warm.*

By this time, the forces were so much fatigued and discouraged, that they could not be brought to play the mortar. The general, though reduced to a very low condition, caused himself to be led from place to place, to encourage them; till fainting at last, he was forced to leave the care of the attack to major-general Fortescue, who did what he could to revive their spirits, but to very little purpose.

Soon after, it was resolved in a council of war, that since the enemy had fortified all the passes, and the whole army was in the utmost distress for want of water; they should march to a place where they were informed a supply of that, and other necessaries, had been put ashore from the ships. In this march the soldiers followed their officers, till they found themselves in danger, and then left them; insomuch that the commissioners owned, by a letter written to the governor of Barbadoes, that, had not the enemy been as fearful as their own men, they might in a few days have destroyed the whole army;

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 627. Heath's Chronicle, p. 371. Davies's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 348. Manley's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 272. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 217. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 495, 496. See Colonel Daniel's relation of their defeat. See also a letter from Venables and Buller, to the protector, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 504—508, 509—511.

and withal, they let him know, that the troops who had occasioned the greatest disorder, were those of Barbadoes and of St. Christopher; insomuch that they, the said commissioners, who were Penn, Winslow, and Buller, had resolved to leave the place, and try what could be done against the island of Jamaica. Such was the end of this expedition, after having been on shore from the fourteenth of April to the first of May, when this resolution of sailing to Jamaica was taken. *

A.D. 1655. The army was accordingly in a little time embarked; but the sick and wounded men were left on the bare decks for eight and forty hours, without either meat, drink, or dressing, insomuch that worms bred in their sores: and even while they were on shore, the provisions sent to them were not watered, but candied with salt, notwithstanding they had not water sufficient to quench their thirst. Nay, after their misfortunes on shore, Venables averred, that Penn gave rear-admiral Blagge orders not to furnish them with any more provisions, of what kind soever; so that they eat up all the dogs, asses, and horses in the camp, and some of them such things as were in themselves poisonous, of which about forty died. Before the forces were embarked, adjutant-general Jackson was tried at a court-martial, and not only sentenced to be cashiered, and his sword broken over his head, but to do the duty

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 627. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 579. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 209. Heath's Chronicle, p. 372. Davies's Hist. of the Civil Wars, p. 348. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 376. Burchet's Naval Hist. p. 394. There are various relations of this unlucky business in Mr. Secretary Thurloe's Collections: we shall point out a few, for the ease of the inquisitive reader. It appears, from a perusal of the different papers, that from the discord and animosities which subsisted through the whole expedition among the principal persons concerned therein, it was impossible any success should have attended it, vol. iii. p. 565, 646, 650, 689, 754.

of a swabber, in keeping clean the hospital-ship; a punishment suitable to his notorious cowardice.*

The descent upon Jamaica was better managed than that upon Hispaniola; for immediately upon their landing, which was on the third of May, General Venables issued his orders, that if any man should be found attempting to run away, the next man to him should put him to death; which, if he failed to do, he should be liable to a court-martial.† The next day, they attacked a fort, which they carried; and were then preparing to storm the town of St. Jago, but this the Spanish inhabitants prevented, by a timely treaty; yet, before the general would listen to any propositions of peace, he insisted, that a certain quantity of provisions should be sent them daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his soldiers strength and spirits; and, in a short time, their negotiations ended in a complete surrender of the island to the English, as appears by the articles, which the reader may find at large in several of our historians.‡

General Venables finding himself in a very weak condition, desired the consent of the commissioners to open their ultimate instructions, to which, after mature deliberation, they yielded. In these he found he had power, in case of necessity, to resign his command, which he did accordingly to general Fortescue; upon this, admiral Penn followed his example, and delivered up his charge to vice-admiral Goodson, with whom he left a stout squadron of ships, and with the rest of the fleet returned

A.D.
1655.

* Burchet's Naval Hist. p. 394.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 372. Burchet, p. 394.

‡ Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 579. Heath's Chronicle, p. 372. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 209. Manley's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 272. Burchet's Naval History, p. 394, who reduces the articles of the capitulation to four. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 565, 649, 674, 682, 753, 755. See General Penn's account to Oliver's council, of his Voyage to the West Indies, given the 12th of September, 1655, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 28.

to England. In their passage home, they fell in with the Spanish Plate fleet, in the gulph of Florida, but without attacking it; whether through want of will, or of instructions, at this distance, it is hard to determine.*

Immediately after the arrival of Penn and Venables, which was in the month of September, 1655, they were both committed close prisoners to the Tower, to satisfy the clamours of the people, who then, as it often happens, laid the greatest blame on him who least deserved it.† All that the protector insisted upon was, that they should confess their faults, in leaving their respective charges; and he promised to release them upon their submission. This Penn quickly did, and was accordingly discharged; but Venables absolutely refused it, always insisting that he had committed no fault; since, in case of inability to execute his duty, his instructions permitted him to resign his command.‡

His memory has been very hardly treated, I think with little reason; for as to what is said of his suffering the Spaniards to carry off their effects from the city of St.

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 376. Burchet's Naval Hist. p. 395. See the commission to Fortescue, appointing him commander in chief of the forces, signed by Penn. See the like to Goodson; together with a long paper of instructions, appointing him admiral of the fleet. See Penn's letter to the protector, on his arrival at Spithead, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 752.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 580. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 629, 630. Davies's Hist. of the Civil Wars, p. 348. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 219. Ludlow, in his Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 496, says, Penn was committed to the Tower, and Venables confined to his lodging, his distemper excusing him from a stricter imprisonment. See Secretary Thurloe's letter to Henry Cromwell, dated the 25th of September, 1655, in the fourth volume of his State Papers, p. 55.

‡ See General Penn's letter to Secretary Thurloe, expressing his ardent desire for leave to come to London, to render the protector an account of his proceedings in the West Indies, dated Swiftsure, Spithead, September 3, 1655. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 6, 117, 177. Burchet's Naval Hist. p. 395. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 629.

Jago to the mountains, and thereby defrauding the soldiers of their plunder, it appears to be a gross calumny, for several reasons. * For first, admitting the fact to be true, that they did carry off their effects, this could prove no loss to the soldiers, but quite the contrary; since, if they had now fallen into their hands, the commissioners would have seized them for the protector's use, in pursuance of the order before-mentioned. Next, the general could do nothing in this respect, without the consent of the other commissioners; and lastly, it appears by the most authentic account we have of this affair, that the officers and soldiers were so far from being dissatisfied with his conduct, that they relied upon him to represent their grievances at home, and to procure redress; which he did, as far as was in his power. †

The reason of his being first aspersed was, a persuasion that he was a confident and creature of Cromwell; which is so far from being true, that the very contrary is certain. The protector hated, and was jealous of him, and conferred on him this command merely to get him out of his way. ‡ The truth is, the fault lay in the protector's scheme, which was neither more nor less, than to have raised a large supply for his own empty coffers from this expedition. This induced him to tie the commissioners down, to hinder the soldiers from keeping their plunder, upon pain of death; and their insisting upon this, had nearly occasioned the ruin of the whole undertaking. §

* British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 306.

† See General Venable's Letter to the Protector, dated aboard the Marston-moor, in Portsmouth road, September 9, 1659, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 21. See his Letter to Secretary Thurloe, p. 22. All these facts the reader will find in the copious account of this voyage in Burchet.

‡ Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 576. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 184, 185.

§ The reader will find these facts fully proved in the various places we have referred him to, in the third and fourth volumes of Secretary Thurloe's State Papers. Burchet's Naval History, p. 391.

The reader must discern the justice of these remarks, from the facts before laid down, which are indisputable; and, as to speak truth freely, and give men's characters impartially, ought to be the study of an historian, I hope this will justify me for insisting so long on this head.

A.D.
1656.

Admiral Blake's fleet continued all this time in the Mediterranean, and was now in the road to Cadiz, where he received the greatest civilities from the Spaniards, and lived on the best terms imaginable with them; for, till the blow was struck at Jamaica, Cromwell, to the best of his power, carefully concealed his design to make war upon them. When this was known, the Spaniards declared immediately against him, and seized the effects of all the English merchants in their dominions, to an immense value; an incident which seems not to have been sufficiently considered, by those who cry up the protector's conduct so highly.* This war, as we have before observed, was, at the bottom, undertaken for his own ad-

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 366, 374, 377. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 609, 629. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 52. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 19, 20, 21, 24, 55, 79. See the petition and remonstrance of the English merchants to the protector. The Spaniards are reported to have seized four score sail of ships and money, and effects, to the value of a million sterling. We are told by Ludlow, in his Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 494, that the Spanish ambassador, Don Alonzo de Cardenas, then residing in England, having received intelligence that the fleet under Penn and Venables was certainly gone to the West Indies, and that the storm was like to fall upon some of his master's territories; made application to Cromwell, to know whether he had any just ground of complaint against the king his master; and if so, that he was ready to give him all possible satisfaction. Cromwell demanded a liberty to trade to the Spanish West Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the inquisition. To which the ambassador replied, that his master had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once. The goods of the English merchants in Spain were seized for want of timely notice to withdraw their effects; and Major Walters, and others concerned with him, lost thirty thousand pounds, that were due to them from his Catholic majesty, for the transportation of Irish soldiers into the Spanish service.

vantage, from a prospect of supplying his coffers with money, without putting him under the necessity of calling parliaments.* It is true, that in public declarations, he talked much of his regard to trade, and his concern for the freedom of navigation; and no doubt he was sincere in this, so far as it was consistent with his own power, and not a jot beyond it; otherwise he would have considered the profits of our national trade with Spain, which were at that time very great; the French having never interfered, and the Dutch being utterly disliked by the Spaniards. At least he should have taken care, by some timely hint, to enable so great a body as the merchants trading to Spain then were, to have withdrawn their effects; and the neglect of this was not the effect of any inattention, a thing impossible while Thurloe had the management of his affairs; but the pure consequence of public interest clashing with his private views; and therefore, throughout the whole transaction, he appears to have been a great politician, but no patriot. I say nothing as to his breach of the law of nations, in attacking the Spaniards, without any previous declaration; because, in the first place, this was not very inconsistent with the principles on which his government was founded; and next, the Spaniards had broken through all rules of true policy, as well as of decorum, in acknowledging and courting him as they did; and therefore, felt no more than the just effects of their own refinements.

When nothing farther was to be obtained by concealing his intentions, the protector sent Mr. Montague with a small squadron of men of war into the Mediterranean, to join Blake, and to carry him fresh instructions; the principal of which was to block up the port of Cadiz, in which there was a fleet of forty sail, intended to secure the flota; and, at the same time, the sailing of this fleet was pre-

* Bates's History of the Troubles in England, part ii. p. 206.

A.D.
1656.

vented, the English were to use their utmost diligence to hinder the flota from coming in, without sharing in the riches that were on board.* Blake and Montague executed their orders with equal skill and industry; taking care to obtain a supply of fresh provisions and water, as often as they had occasion, from the coast of Portugal. Thither, for that purpose, they had sailed with the greatest part of the fleet, when the squadron from the Indies approached Cadiz. Rear-admiral Stayner, with seven frigates, plied to and fro, till these eight large ships were in view, which he presently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his vessels, because they lay very low in the water, for fishermen. This gave him an opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, though the weather hindered four of his frigates from acting. Yet with the *Speaker*, the *Bridgewater*; and the *Plymouth*, he did his business; and, after an obstinate engagement, sunk two, run two more a-ground, and took two of the Spanish vessels; so that two only escaped. †

In one of those that were destroyed was the marquis of Badajoz, of the family of Lopez, who had been governor of Peru for the king of Spain, and perished miserably, with the marchioness his wife, and their daughter; the eldest son and his brother were saved, and brought safe to the generals with this prize, wherein were two millions of pieces of eight; and as much there was in one of them

* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 586. Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 381. Davies's *Hist. of the Civil Wars*, p. 351. Manley's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 274. Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 100, 107, 117, 443, 531, &c.

† Clarendon, *Ubi Supra*. Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*, p. 332. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 560. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part iii. p. 112. Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 383. Manley's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 275. Captain Richard Stayner's relation of this action, in a letter addressed to the generals of the fleet. The letters of the generals Blake and Montague to the protector; and that of the last mentioned admiral to Secretary Thurloe.

that was sunk. The admiral who carried the flag, for concealing the richest ship, with the Portugal prize, recovered the shore. Soon after, General Montague, with the young marquis of Badajoz, and part of the fleet to escort the silver, returned to England, delivered the bullion into the mint, and, upon his earnest interposition, the young marquis was set at liberty. * For this, a thanksgiving, with a narrative to be read thereon, was appointed by the parliament, who issued their declaration of war against Spain. †

The protector took a great deal of care of his new conquest, Jamaica; and within a very short time after the return of Penn and Venables, sent a considerable supply thither, and a squadron of men of war. These troops were commanded by Colonel Humphreys, but

* In the letters before referred to, the deplorable fate of this illustrious family is painted in very moving terms; and the reader, perhaps, will not be displeased to learn from them some particulars. The marchioness and her eldest daughter, a young lady of fifteen years of age, who was to have espoused the son of the duke of Medina-Celi, seeing the vessel in flames, were so terrified that they fell down in a swoon, and were burnt to death. The vice-roy, her lord, had opportunity sufficient to have escaped; but when he saw his lady and daughter, whom he loved exceedingly, in that dreadful situation; unable to survive their loss, he said, he would die where they died; and tenderly embracing the former, perished with them, together with one of their sons. Two sons, and three daughters, one of the latter an infant of twelve months old, with ninety other persons, the wretched remains of this scene of horror and ruin, were saved. General Montague is very copious in his praises of the young marquis, whom he describes as a most ingenious, learned, and accomplished youth of about sixteen. Soon after their arrival in England, this young nobleman and his brother were brought from Chelsea, where they resided, and presented to the protector at Whitehall, who treated them with great kindness and generosity; and in a short time, as we have before observed, set them at liberty.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 653, where we find, that the thanks also of the parliament, by the speaker, were, in pursuance of their resolution, given to General Montague, for his great services done to the commonwealth by sea, on his taking his seat in the house.

Major Sedgwick went with him, and had a commission to be governor of the island.* When they came thither, they found things in a much better posture than they expected. Colonel Doily, to whom Fortescue, on account of sickness, had resigned his command, was a person so indefatigable, that he had subdued all the opposition he met with; and had driven the Spaniards out of the island, notwithstanding they had fortified themselves in two or three places very strongly, and had been abundantly supplied with artillery and ammunition from Cuba. †

It is easy to account for the different behaviour of these men here, and at Hispaniola. They fought there for the profit of others, but at this time, for their own. They were then utterly unacquainted with the climate, and so less able to bear it; whereas they were in some measure seasoned to it: yet this Colonel Doily, who did so much for the colony, was to be removed at all events from the government, because he had been formerly a cavalier. Sedgwick, however, who was to have been his successor, quickly died, and so did Fortescue; and Humphreys, according to his orders, returned home with a small fleet. ‡ Upon this, the protector despatched another thousand men from Scotland, with one Colonel Brayne, who was to take the government out of Colonel Doily's hands; but he likewise dying, almost as soon as he set his foot on the island, Doily still continued in the exercise of his authority, and with great skill and integrity managed all things there to the time of the Restoration; and then

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 580. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 627. Heath's Chronicle, p. 377. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 348. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 272. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 532. See the protector's proclamation, inviting merchants and others to settle in the island, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 753.

† British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 308.

‡ Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 533. British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 309, 310.

Jamaica was become, through his care and vigilance, a very considerable, and, for the time it had been settled, a very populous plantation.*

We are now to return to the proceedings of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Admiral Blake continued to cruize before the haven of Cadiz, and in the Straits, till the month of April, 1657; and having then information of another Plate-fleet, which had put into the haven of Santa-cruz in the island of Teneriff, he immediately sailed thither, and arrived before the town the 20th of April.† Here he found the flota, consisting of six galleons very richly laden, and ten other vessels. The latter lay within the port, with a strong barricado before them; the galleons without the boom, because they drew too much water to lay within it. The port itself was strongly fortified, having on the north a large castle well supplied with artillery, and seven forts united by a line communication, well lined with musketeers. The Spanish governor thought the place so secure, and his own dispositions so well made, that when the master of a Dutch ship desired leave to sail, because he apprehended Blake would presently attack the ships in the harbour; the Spaniard answered tartly, "Get you gone, if you will, and let Blake come, if he dares."‡

A.D.
1657.

The admiral, after viewing the enemy's preparations, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to attempt destroying the enemy's ships; for it was impossible to bring them off: and to this end, he sent Captain Stayner

* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 557. See the whole of these transactions in a treatise intitled, *Jamaica Viewed*, with all the Ports, Harbours, &c. by E. H. i. e. Edmund Hickerlinghill, London, 1661, 8vo.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 600. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 357. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 383.

‡ Heath's Chronicle, p. 391. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 227.

with a squadron to attack them, who soon forced his passage into the bay, while other frigates played on the forts and line, and hindered them from giving the ships much disturbance. Stayner's squadron was quickly supported by Blake with the whole fleet, who boarded the Spanish galleons, and in a few hours made himself master of them all, and then set them on fire; so that the whole Spanish fleet was burnt down to the water's edge, except two ships which sunk outright; and then, the wind veering to S. W. he passed with his fleet safe out of the port again, losing in this dangerous attempt no more than forty-eight men killed, and having about one hundred and twenty wounded.* It was without question, the boldest undertaking of its kind that had ever been performed; and the Spaniards, who are romantic enough in their own conduct, were so much astonished at his, that they quite lost their spirits, and thenceforward never thought themselves safe either from numbers or fortifications.†

When the protector had the news of this glorious success, he immediately sent it by his secretary Thurloe to the parliament then sitting; and they, on hearing the particulars, ordered a day to be set apart for a thanksgiving; a ring of the value of five hundred pounds to the general as a testimony of his country's gratitude; a present of one hundred to the captain who brought the news; and their thanks to all the officers and soldiers concerned in

* Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 274, 275. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 228, 229. See the letter of Thomas Maynard, Esq. the English consul at Lisbon, to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, acquainting him with the news of this great victory, dated the 6th of June, 1657, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 312.

† Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 601. Heath's Chronicle, p. 392. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 357. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, Bates, Echard, Kennet, and Rapin.

the action.* Captain Richard Stayner, returning soon after, was knighted by the protector:† nor was it long before Blake and the fleet returned, which put an end to the Spanish war by sea; for the protector had lately entered into a closer conjunction with France; and, in consequence thereof, sent over a body of land-forces into Flanders, where they assisted in taking the fortress and port of Dunkirk, which was delivered into the hands of the English, who kept it till after the Restoration.‡

There had been for some years a very sharp war carried on in the north between the kings of Sweden and Denmark, which in its consequences was likely to affect the rest of Europe, especially the maritime powers.§ The Dutch saw that their trade to the Baltic would be ruined if the king of Sweden prevailed, who was now become the superiour both by land and sea; they therefore resolved to send a fleet to the assistance of the Danes, which they

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 392. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 661. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 321. See the protector's letter to General Blake upon this occasion, dated Whitehall, June 10, 1657, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 342.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 392, who, says he, deserved that honour from a better hand, nor did his merit miss it. See the list of Oliver's lords, baronets, and knights, at the end of the Perfect Politician, or Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 263.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 640, 644. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 560, 562, 671. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 665, 673, 674. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 33, 63, 87, 337. vol. vii. p. 151, 155, 156, 160, 169, 173. Memoires de Montglat, tom. iv. p. 174—179. Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire d'Anne d'Autriche, par Madame d'Motteville, tom. v. p. 267—271. edit. 1750. Quincy Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 233—236.

§ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 665. Heath's Chronicle, p. 397. Bates's Elenus Motuum, part ii. p. 228, 229. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 383. Le Clerc Hist. des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. liv. xiii. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. liv. 11.

A.D. 1658. did, and thereby saved Copenhagen.* In England, it was judged to be of no less consequence to succour the Swedes; yet it was not thought proper to avow the design, as the Dutch had done, and therefore Sir George Ayscue, who was drawn out of his retirement to command upon this occasion, had orders to accept a commission as admiral from the king of Sweden; which would have enabled him to act more effectually for his service, than the Dutch did in favour of their allies.

This was in the year 1658; but it was so late in the season, that the squadron was not able to reach Copenhagen for the ice.†

All expeditions by sea are liable to great uncertainty, even when planned with the greatest skill. The protector and his council projected this. Sir George Ayscue went in a Swedish ship with a number of gallant officers attached to him, and resolved to follow his fortunes; but the English squadron was commanded by vice-admiral Goodson, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George, when he published his Swedish commission. But, this fleet being long retarded by contrary winds, the protector died in the mean time. However, Richard pursuing his father's scheme, had sent it; and on account of the ice, as is before mentioned, this fleet returned again to England, without effecting any thing, to the great joy of the Danes and the Dutch. This disappointment, joined to the many difficulties arisen upon the demise of Oliver, it was generally conceived that the English would have meddled no farther in this affair.‡ It proved otherwise, however; for a stout fleet was fitted out, and sent into

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 521. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. liv. 13. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. liv. 11.

† Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 416. Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 412, 509, 510, 513, 528, 529, 541, 550, 581.

‡ Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 553.

the Baltic under the command of Admiral Montague, who had acquired a great reputation by serving in conjunction with Blake. He had, besides his commission of admiral, another, whereby he was joined in the negotiation in the north with the ambassadors Sidney and Honeywood.* He arrived at Copenhagen, and managed his affairs with great dexterity; for he avoided coming to blows, that he might not begin a new Dutch war; compelled the king of Sweden, by talking to him in a proper style, to think of peace, to which he was otherwise very little inclined; and while he did all this, and executed effectually the duties of those high offices with which he was intrusted; he entertained a secret correspondence with the king, and disposed all things on board the fleet for his service.†

When measures were concerted for Sir George Booth's rising, which was the last attempt made in favour of his majesty before his restoration; notice of it was given to Admiral Montague at Copenhagen; who instantly resolved to return to England. His fellow-ambassadors, who were very able men, and very hearty republicans, had by this time gained some intelligence of his intercourse with the king, and therefore intended to have seized him in case he came ashore.‡ He was wise enough never to put it in their power, and took care also to run no risk in returning without orders; for having called a council of war, he complained to them that provisions grew short, and that it would be a very difficult thing to supply themselves in that part of the world, there

A.D.
1659.

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 656, 730. Heath's Chronicle, p. 416. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 626, 636.

† See General Montague's letters to the kings of Sweden and Denmark; as also to the Dutch admiral Opdam. See his letter to Secretary Thurloe. See the protector Richard Cromwell's letter to General Montague in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 644, 651, 666. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 700. Heath's Chronicle, p. 416.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 731.

being a Dutch fleet there at the same time. Upon this it was unanimously resolved to sail home immediately; and this resolution was no sooner taken, than the admiral weighed anchor, and returned to England, * very opportunely, and very unexpectedly.

A.D.
1659.

On his arrival he found things in quite another situation than he expected; Sir George Booth had been defeated and taken prisoner, and the old parliament was again restored; so that Admiral Montague, though he had forty sail of stout ships under his command, and the seamen much at his devotion; yet thought it safest to leave the fleet, and to come up freely and give an account of his conduct to the parliament; which he did in September, 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire to his house in the country. † The command of the fleet was then intrusted to Admiral Lawson, who continued in the channel with a larger squadron of ships than ordinary, till General Monk came out of Scotland. ‡ As soon as the designs of that great man began to ripen, he proposed that Montague should be recalled, and restored to the command of the navy; which was accordingly done, and the supreme power in maritime affairs vested in him and Monk. §

A.D.
1660.

Admiral Montague went instantly to his command, and was not a little surprised to find that Lawson and the rest of the officers were much better inclined to the intended

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 731. Heath's Chronicle, p. 426. See Algernon Sydney's Letter to the Council of State, dated Copenhagen, August 21, 1659, complaining bitterly of the general's sailing without his concurrence and that of his colleagues.

† Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 732. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 282. Heath's Chronicle, p. 426.

‡ Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 728. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 666. Whitlooke's Memorials, p. 690. A perfect Diurnal of every Day's Proceedings in Parliament, London, 1659, 4to. No. 1. p. 3.

§ Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 729. Heath's Chronicle, p. 439. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 697. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 863. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 264.

change than he expected; and therefore he did not much dissemble either his inclinations or intentions. On the 4th of April, 1660, he received his majesty's letter, and caused it to be read publicly in the fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the parliament's orders, he sailed for Holland, and sent an officer to the Hague, to inform the king that he was ready to receive him. *

We have thus, without entering deep into politics, run through the naval transactions of this memorable period, and have now only the lives of the most eminent seamen who flourished therein to employ our care. But, previous to this, it may not be improper to observe, that it was wholly owing to the unanimity of our sailors, and their generous disregard to domestic broils, that we obtained so many glorious victories at sea, and spread the terror of the English name abroad, when the English nation at home was on the brink of destruction; that the parliament followed the king's steps exactly, in claiming the honour of the flag, asserting the sovereignty of the seas, and looking with a jealous eye on the encroachments of the French and Dutch; that in all our naval expeditions we came off with honour, and mostly with victory; whereas, in conjunct expeditions, wherein land were joined with

* See the king's letter to the generals of the navy at sea, together with his majesty's declaration to the captains, commanders, and seamen belonging to the fleet, &c. London, 1660, 4to. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 768. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 701. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 435. Heath's Chronicle, p. 446. In the Minutes of the Journal of Admiral Montague, afterwards earl of Sandwich, printed in Kennet's Chronicle, p. 144, that noble person tells us, that Sir John Grenville came on board the Naseby, on Thursday, May the 10th, about ten of the clock at night, with a message from General Monk, that the king's friends judged his majesty's present repair to London was absolutely necessary; and therefore desired him to sail, and waft the king over, which he promised to do; and sent Sir John over in the Speaker, to assure the king the fleet should attend him, which it accordingly did, the admiral sailing for the Dutch coast the next day.

sea forces, we were less fortunate; that our readiness in protecting trade, and resolution to revenge any insults upon our honour, contributed not a little to the extension of our commerce, and raising our reputation; lastly, that these advantages were all the nation had to balance a multitude of misfortunes; our country being harassed and destroyed by contending parties; our industry discouraged by so long a war; and most of our manufactures ruined.

On the other hand, the iniquitous oppressions, the hypocritical dissimulations, the scandalous outrages on our most excellent constitution, were so notorious, that we must have become very despicable in the eyes of our neighbours, but for the courage and conduct of our seamen.* Among whom, all parties have agreed to give the first rank to one who brought no other qualities than good sense, and a bold spirit, when he assumed the command of the English fleet; and yet soon became the ablest sailor in it, and as such, claims our first regard.

MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL BLAKE.

HIS descent was very honourable, the family from which he sprung having been long settled at Plansfield, in the parish of Spaxton, in Somersetshire.† Mr. Humphry Blake, his father, was a Spanish merchant, and having acquired a considerable fortune for the times in which he lived, bought a small estate in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, where his family had been long settled. He had several children, the eldest of whom was Robert, whose life we are now to write.

* See the conclusion of Lord Clarendon's History, and of Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

† Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 203. Lives, British and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 75.

He was born in the month of August, 1598; and, during his father's life-time, was educated at a free school in Bridgewater.* He afterwards removed to Oxford, where he was first a member of St. Alban's-hall, and next of Wadham-college. After taking a degree, and meeting with more than one disappointment in his endeavours to obtain academical preferment, he left the university, when he had staid there seven years.†

During his residence in that seat of the muses, he sufficiently displayed his temper; which in reality was that of a humourist, usually grave, and in appearance morose; but inclined in an evening, and with particular friends, to be very chearful, though still with a tincture of severity, which disposed him to bear hard on the pride of courtiers, and the power of churchmen; which, as the noble historian well observes, rendered him very agreeable to the good fellows in those days; though whether there were any ground from this disposition of his to conclude him a republican, is, I think, not easy to be determined.‡ This is certain, that his reputation for probity, and his known aversion from persecution, engaged the Puritans to promote his election as a burgess for Bridgewater, in the parliament which sat in April, 1640.§

That assembly was dissolved too early for Mr. Blake to make any discovery therein of his talents as a senator; and in the long parliament, which sat soon after, he lost his election. When the war broke out between the king and the parliament, he declared for the latter, and took arms very early in their service; but where, and in what

* Wood, ubi supra.

† Lives, English and Foreign, vol. ii. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 601. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 245.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602.

§ Lives, English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 76. Rushworth's Collections, under the year 1640, p. 1111.

quality, is not very clear. However, he was very soon made a captain of dragoons, in which station he shewed himself as able and active an officer as any in the service; and as such was constantly employed upon all occasions, whether either boldness or dexterity were particularly requisite. *

In 1643, we find him at Bristol, under the command of Colonel Fiennes, who intrusted him with a little fort on the line, in which he first gave the world a proof of his military virtues; for, on the 26th of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the governor had agreed to surrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake still held out his fort, and killed several of the king's forces. This exasperated Prince Rupert to such a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience in war; and at their request, though not without much difficulty, he was at last prevailed upon to give up the fort. †

After this he served in Somersetshire, under the command of Popham, who was governor of Lyme, to whose regiment Blake was lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greatest part of the regiment were Somersetshire men, he had so good an intelligence in those parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, surprised Taunton for the parliament, where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. ‡ In 1644, he was constituted governor of that place, which was of the utmost importance, being the only garrison the parliament had in the west. The

* Wood's *fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 204. Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 228. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 228.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 602.

‡ Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 95. Rushworth's *Collections* under the year 1644, p. 685. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 113.

works about it were far from being strong. He had no very numerous garrison; yet, by keeping a strict discipline, and treating the townsmen well, he made a shift to keep it; though no great care was taken to furnish him with supplies, and notwithstanding he was sometimes besieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces.

At length General Goring came before the place with near ten thousand men, and pressed Blake so close, that he carried all the outworks, and actually took from him a part of the town. However, he held out the rest of it and the castle with wonderful obstinacy till relief came; for which extraordinary service the parliament gave the garrison a bounty of two thousand pounds, and honoured Colonel Blake with a present of five hundred pounds. All who have preserved the memory of the signal events in that unhappy war, allow this to have been a singularly gallant and soldier-like action. *

Colonel Blake, in April, 1646, marched with a detachment from his garrison, and reduced Dunster castle, a seat belonging to the ancient family of Lutterel, the troops posted therein having given great disturbance to the country; which was the last military achievement he performed during this war. † On the 24th of December following, the parliament ordered five hundred pounds to be paid him for disbanding some forces. ‡ When the parliament voted that no further addresses should be made to the king, Blake, as governor of Taunton, was prevailed upon to join in an address of thanks to the House of Commons, for having taken this step. I say, prevailed upon; because this could never have been agreeable to his own

* Rushworth's Collections, under the year 1645, p. 28. Heath's Chronicle, p. 76, 77, 81. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 135, 144, 151, 161. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 107, 144, 146.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 106. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 202. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 187. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 171.

‡ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 231.

sentiments if what the writer of his life tells us be true, that, when the king came to be tried, Blake disapproved that measure as barbarous in itself, and illegal in its nature; insomuch that he was frequently heard to say, "He would as freely venture his life to save the king, as ever he did to serve the parliament." *

This expression, however, we must attribute rather to the generosity of his temper, than to his political principles; since, after the king was murdered, he fell in roundly with the republican party; and, next to Cromwell and Ireton, he was the ablest and most successful officer they had. One would wonder how so honest and disinterested a person could take a share in such measures as were certainly contrived by men of quite another stamp; but it seems he satisfied himself in all these changes with the integrity of his own purpose, of adhering, as far as he was able, to his country's interest, and exerting, his utmost capacity to exalt her glory. These, though noble qualifications of themselves, gave men of less honour, and more cunning, an opportunity of using his great abilities and undaunted courage for the furtherance of their own private views; with which he grew afterwards very uneasy, and some say his discontent swelled so high, that it became at length a mortal disease.

It is not easy to guess what induced the parliament to make choice of him, who had always served as a horse-officer, to take the supreme command of the fleet. All our historians and memoir writers are silent as to their motive; and therefore I hope the reader will excuse me if I hazard a conjecture on this head. The parliament had lately taken upon themselves the rank, though not the title, of States-General, and therefore might be inclined to make use of deputies for the direction both of fleets and armies, who were to judge in great points, and to be obeyed by

* Lives, English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 37.

such as were skilful in their profession, either as seamen or soldiers; for, in their judgment, to command was one thing, and to act another. On the 12th of February, 1648-9, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy, and upon the 21st an act passed, as we have elsewhere taken notice, appointing him, in conjunction with Deane and Popham, to command the fleet. His first service was driving Prince Rupert's fleet from the Irish coast, and then following him into the Mediterranean. This gave his masters high satisfaction, both in respect of his capacity and his fidelity in their service, which they likewise acknowledged very obligingly. * His conduct indeed was equally prudent and successful; for it not only put an end to that kind of piratical war, which did so much damage to trade, but also struck such a terror into the Spaniards and Portuguese, as to prevent all those disputes which otherwise would have naturally happened on the appearance of so new a power in Europe, as the commonwealth of England.

In the month of February, 1651, Blake, in his return homewards, took a French man-of-war of forty guns; in respect of which action there happened some circumstances that certainly deserve to be particularly mentioned. The admiral commanded the captain on board him, and asked him, if he was willing to lay down his sword? He answered, he was not; upon which Blake generously bid him return to his ship, and fight it out as long as he was able. The captain took him at his word; fought him bravely for about two hours; and then submitting, went again on board Blake's ship; first kissed and then presented his sword to the admiral upon his knees. This ship, with four more, the admiral sent into England; and not long after arriving at Plymouth with his squadron, he there received the thanks of the parliament for his vigilance and valour

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 381, 383.

in his station ; and was constituted one of the lords-warrens of the cinque-ports, as an additional mark of their esteem and confidence. *

In March following, Colonel Blake, Colonels Popham and Deane, or any two of them, were again appointed by act of parliament to be admirals and generals of the fleet for the year ensuing, in which he reduced the islands of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, to the obedience of the parliament ; and, as a new mark of honour, he was, on the 25th of November, elected one of the council of state. When the necessity of a Dutch war became apparent, the parliament gave the highest testimony of their sense of his merit, and of their entire confidence in his conduct, by constituting him, in March 1652, sole general of the fleet for nine months. But though I mention this as a proof that they were apprehensive of the war, yet, as I have said elsewhere, there is no appearance of their judging a rupture to be so near as it really was ; otherwise they would certainly have sent Blake to sea with a better fleet. † We have already given a distinct account of the first battle in the Downs, on the 19th of May, 1652, excepting some circumstances which relate to Blake, and which were therefore reserved for this place.

When he observed Van Tromp bore nearer his fleet than he had any occasion to do, he saluted him with two guns without ball, to put him in mind of striking sail ; upon which the Dutchman, in contempt, fired on the contrary side. Blake fired a second and a third gun, which Van Tromp answered with a broadside : the English admiral perceiving his intention to fight, detached himself from the rest of the fleet to treat with Van Tromp upon

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 487, 488. Lives, English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 92, 93.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 459. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 525. Heath's Chronicle, p. 314. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 254.

that point of honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood, and a national quarrel: when Blake approached nearer to Van Tromp, he and the rest of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations, the English admiral coming with a design to treat, fired on Blake with whole broadsides. The admiral was in his cabin drinking with some officers, little expecting to be saluted, when the shot broke the windows of the ship and shattered the stern; which put him into a vehement passion, so that curling his whiskers, as he used to do whenever he was angry, he commanded his men to answer the Dutch in their kind, saying, when his heat was somewhat over, "he took it very ill of Van Tromp that he should take his ship for a bawdy-house, and break his windows." Blake singly sustained the shock of the Dutch fleet for some time, till his own ships, and the squadron under Major Bourne could join them; and then the engagement grew hot on both, and bloody on the enemy's side, till night put an end to it. *

After this battle, Blake lay in the Downs for a considerable time, which he spent in repairing and augmenting his fleet, and in detaching small squadrons to cruize against the enemy. About the beginning of June, finding he had force enough to undertake any service, he caused a solemn fast to be held on board his ships, to implore the blessing of God upon their arms; and encouraged his seamen by the example of his zeal on this occasion, as much as he had ever done by his personal bravery in a time of action. † In the course of this month, he sent forty rich prizes into the river; and so effectually ruined the Dutch trade, and broke the spirits of such as were appointed to support it; that most of their vessels declined coming through the Channel, even under convoy; chusing rather to put into French ports, land their cargoes there,

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 533. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 328. Lives, English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 99.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 534.

and afterwards transport them to Holland, by land or water, as they could. *

In the beginning of July, finding Sir George Ayscue returned from Barbadoes, and a force sufficient to guard the Downs, he resolved to sail northwards, to execute a design he had long meditated, of destroying the herring-fishery; which he thought would have put an immediate end to the war, by convincing the Dutch of the folly of disputing our sovereignty in our own seas. This appears to have been the most judicious scheme laid down through the whole war; because it tended to clear the ground of the quarrel, and to shew the Dutch their error in disputing with a nation, who had it in their power to distress them at any time in the tenderest part; that which afforded a subsistence to many, and was the main source of wealth to all. †

On the 2d of July, Blake bore away to the north, and quickly fell in with the Dutch fishing vessels, which were there in great numbers, under the protection of twelve men-of-war. Blake attacked their convoy, and they knowing the importance of their charge, and having taken on board a great supply of fresh men from the vessels under their care, fought bravely, and sold their freedom dearly; but at last were every one taken, which left the fishery entirely at the admiral's mercy, who upon this occasion shewed the rectitude of his heart, and the solidity of his understanding; for having first threatened those busses with utter destruction, if ever they were found there again without leave, he afterwards freely permitted them to compleat their loadings, on their paying the TENTH herring, which was what King Charles demanded; and where this was refused, he sunk or drove away their ships. ‡

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 322. Vie de Cromwell.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 540. Heath's Chronicle, p. 322. Histoire de Holland par M. de la Neuville, tom. iii. p. 66.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 461. Davies's

This most important service is far from being properly treated by our own writers; but the Dutch, who felt the weight of the blow, have set it in a true light. They acknowledge the fact, as I have stated it, in every circumstance, except the taking the whole convoy, of which they tell us one ship escaped, and assign so good a reason for it, that I am apt to think the fact is true. The captain fled, say they, as soon as he heard Blake was coming; but an ingenious author observes, that Tromp's not following Blake time enough, was the ruin of their fishery. And though, says he, the herring-fishery may appear contemptible to strangers, or to such as do not reflect that commerce is, as it were, the soul of some states; yet it is of infinite consequence in Holland, on account especially of the vast number of ships employed therein, which amount to more than three thousand every year.* Besides, there are an incredible multitude of people employed in several sorts of works relating to this fishing; insomuch that Mr. De Witte, who computed the inhabitants of Holland at two millions and a half, thought that near half a million acquired a subsistence from their fishery.† If therefore the parliament had pursued Blake's scheme, and had stationed a stout squadron on the coast of Scotland, they must have quickly ended this war on any terms they had thought fit to describe.

I must upon this occasion take notice of the only censure I have met with on our admiral's conduct, as I find it reported by Lieutenant-General Ludlow, who says, that some thought the releasing the herring busses, and suffering the seamen to return safely into Holland, was not to be justified; because, by the help of these vessels, we

History of the Civil Wars, p. 329. Heath's Chronicle, p. 322. Whitlocke, ubi supra. Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 264.

* Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 258.

† Memoirs de Jean de Witte, p. 30.

might have been enabled to erect a fishery, and thereby have obtained some reparation for the damages sustained from the Dutch, and by detaining their mariners, they must have been exceedingly weakened and distressed.* There is, I must own, something very plausible in this objection; and yet, when it is thoroughly considered, I believe it will appear, that the admiral took the better course. He found most of these busses near harbours, into which they would undoubtedly run, had he proceeded to extremities. The men on board these vessels were between six and seven thousand. To have destroyed so many, would have been an act of great cruelty; and to have taken them, considering he had already above a thousand prisoners, would, upon the whole, have proved but an imprudent step; so that, considering him as a brave man, an Englishman, and a Christian, one cannot well avoid commending him for so generous a behaviour toward enemies. The Dutch writers readily acknowledge his courtesy and magnanimity,† which I doubt not was approved by the parliament; who, however they came by their authority, used it with honour and moderation, and thereby set a proper example to the officers they employed.

His subsequent conduct during the Dutch war has been already thoroughly accounted for; and therefore I shall only take notice here of the method our admiral took to keep the seamen easy, notwithstanding all the changes that happened in the government. He told them, it was his and their business to act faithfully in their respective stations, and to do their duty to their country, whatever irregularities there might be in the councils at home; and

* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 420. This charge is transcribed in *Columna Rostrata*, p. 99.

† Particularly Basnage, tom. i. p. 258, and the writer of Tromp's Life.

would often say among his officers, that state affairs were not their province, but that they were bound to keep foreigners from fooling us.* These principles rendered him agreeable to all parties; and gained him so generally the reputation of a patriot, that when Cromwell, in his new model of a parliament, left the populous town of Bridgewater the choice of one representative only, they very prudently fixed on their countryman Mr. Blake.† He was also very acceptable to the protector, though he was far enough from being his creature; Cromwell knew that he was by principle for a Commonwealth, and therefore chose to employ him abroad as much as possible; knowing, that contributed to the safety of his government, and that Blake's concern for the glory of England would influence him to do all, and even more than any other man could be excited to, by views of interest and ambition.‡

When he sailed in 1654, into the Mediterranean, he came in the month of December into the road of Cadiz, where he was received with great respect and civility by the Spaniards, and indeed by all nations as well as the English, who were then in port. A Dutch admiral would not wear his flag while the English admiral was in the harbour; one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being separated from the rest, fell in with the French admiral and seven men of war near the Straits mouth. The captain of the victualling-sloop was ordered on board the admiral, who enquired of him where Blake was, drank his health with five guns, and so wished the captain a good voyage. The Algerines stood in such awe of him, that they were wont to stop the Sallee rovers; and, in case

* Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 357. The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 247. Lives, English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 109.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 363. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 573.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602.

they had any prisoners on board, took them out, and sent them to Blake, in hopes thereby of obtaining his favour.*

He sailed from Cadiz to Malaga; and while he lay in that road, gave such a testimony of heroic zeal for his country's honour as was scarcely ever equalled. Some of his seamen, going ashore, met the host as it was carrying to some sick person, and not only paid no respect thereto, but laughed at those who did. The priest who accompanied it, highly resented this, and put the people on revenging the indignity; upon which they fell upon the sailors, and beat some of them very severely. When they returned on board, they complained of this ill usage, and the admiral instantly sent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the priest who was the author of this insult. The viceroy answered, that he had no authority over priests, and therefore could not send him. Upon this Blake sent a second message, that he would not enter into the question who had power to send him; but that, if he was not sent within three hours, he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. The inhabitants, to save themselves, obliged the viceroy to send the priest; who, when he came on board, excused himself to the admiral on account of the behaviour of the sailors. Blake with much calmness and composure told him, that, if he had complained of this outrage, he would have punished them severely; for he would not suffer any of his men to affront the established religion of a place where he touched; but he blamed him for setting on a mob of Spaniards to beat them, adding, "that he would have him and the whole world know, that none but an ENGLISHMAN should chastise an ENGLISHMAN."†

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 609. Heath's Chronicle, p. 366, Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 347. Lives, English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 113, 114.

† Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 80, 81.

We have already mentioned the taking part of the Plate fleet by Captain Stayner, an incident of such consequence to Cromwell, that the ingenious Mr. Waller wrote a poem to persuade him to lay hold of this opportunity, while the people were pleased with the sight of so much Spanish bullion, to work on their passions, and engage them to set the crown upon his head. * We have likewise entered into a detail of the celebrated action at Santa Cruz; and have shewn how glorious it was for his country and his profession, no seaman having ever attempted any thing of that kind before. But there is a circumstance yet behind, which will perhaps redound more to his own glory than even the burning of the Spanish ships in so well-fortified a port. His brother, captain Benjamin Blake, for whom he had a very tender affection, being guilty of some misdemeanour or misbehaviour in the action; he was, by sentence from Blake, removed from his ship, and the command of it given to another. †

This was such an instance of disinterested discipline as must have had a very strong effect on the minds of all who served under him; so that we need not wonder such extraordinary things were performed by men so strictly tied to their duty. To say the truth, discipline is the soul of service. Men are apt to measure the consequences of things by the rewards and punishments which attend them; and if resolution purchase nothing, or neglect be easily excused, an army or a fleet may, by the help of the land-taylor and ship-carpenter, make a fine shew, but, after all, will prove a terror to none but those who are to pay them. An officer like Blake, who will do justice upon his brother, will be generally feared, highly admired, and yet sincerely beloved; his sailors will be ready to undertake any thing at his command; and his acts of courage will so

* Waller's Poems, p. 274.

† Lives, English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 121.

far transcend what happens among the trifling and debauched posterity even of those heroes, that they will be glad, rather than attempt imitating, to style that temerity, which in its day passed only for a bold attempt.

In a short time after the destruction of the enemy's fleet at Teneriff, we find Blake cruizing again off the harbour of Cadiz; where, perceiving his ships were become foul, and that his own health and spirits hourly wore away, he resolved to sail for England.* His distemper was a complication of dropsy and scurvy, brought upon him by being for three years together at sea; and wanting all that time the conveniencies requisite for the cure of his disease.† In his passage home it increased upon him; and he became so sensible of his approaching end, that he frequently inquired for land; a mark of his affection for his native soil, which, however, he did not live to see, dying as his ship the *St. George* entered Plymouth-sound, on the 17th of August, 1657, at about fifty-nine years of age.‡ His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead; his bowels taken out; and buried in the great church at Plymouth; and his corpse, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich-house, whence he resolved to have it carried in great pomp to Westminster-abbey, and there interred with the utmost solemnity, as the last mark of respect that could be paid by men to the noble spirit which once animated this tenement of clay.§

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

† Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part ii. p. 228. Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* vol. i. col. 204. Manley's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 273. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 375.

‡ Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 664. Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*, p. 357. Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 601. *The Perfect Politician, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 246.

§ Carrington's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 247. Heath's Chronicle, p. 402. *Lives, English and Foreign*, p. 122, 123.

On the 4th of September, after the corpse had lain several days in state, it was carried from Greenwich in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with escutcheons and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, remoter relations, and their servants, in mourning; by Oliver's privy council, the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; the field-officers of the army, and many other persons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marshalled and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the solemnity. Thus they passed to Westminster-bridge; and, at their landing, proceeded in the same manner, through a guard of several regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend, general Lambert, though then in disgrace with the protector, attending on his horse. The funeral procession over, the body was interred in a vault, built on purpose, in the chapel of Henry VII.*

This was an honour which had been paid to the remains of his predecessors, Deane and Popham, by the parliament; and the protector would not be behind them in civility or magnificence, where it cost so little, and had a visible tendency to raise the credit of his administration so much. But very great offence has been taken at the removing his body after the Restoration. The writer of his life is particularly angry at this disturbance of his bones.† A late reverend author, to make the injury still greater, tells us, that at the Restoration, his body was taken out of the grave, and flung, with others, into a common pit.‡ This had been a great indignity indeed; but it luckily so happens, that the fact is not true.

* Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* vol. i. col. 205. Heath, p. 400, who says, general Lambert's attendance was particularly remarked. Echard's *History of England*, p. 725, and other historians.

† *Lives, English and Foreign*, p. 123, 124.

‡ Neale's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 174.

An order was sent, some time after the Restoration, directing the dean and chapter of Westminster, to cause such bodies as had been interred in that church during the troubles, to be removed; which we may the less wonder at, if we consider that Cromwell's, Ireton's, Bradshaw's, and Sir William Constable's bodies were all interred there. The order, therefore, was general, and had no sort of distinct or injurious reference to this great admiral. So far from it, that it appears, by a very authentic memorandum, that, on the 12th of September, 1661, his corpse was removed from the abbey, and decently buried in the church-yard: neither could this be called taking it out of the grave, since the coffin stood in a vault.* Nay, to shew the respect the cavaliers or royalists had for him, we need only mention the characters that have been given him, since they come all, or at least the far greatest part of them from persons of that party.

The earl of Clarendon says, “ He was the first man
 “ that declined the old tract, and made it manifest that
 “ the science might be attained in less time than was
 “ imagined; and despised those rules which had been long
 “ in practice, to keep his ship and men out of danger,
 “ which had been held in former times a point of great
 “ ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship, had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who
 “ brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had
 “ been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered
 “ by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who
 “ could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first that
 “ infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by
 “ making them see by experience what mighty things
 “ they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them
 “ to fight in fire, as well as upon water; and though he
 “ hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the

* Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 536.

“ first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.” *

Dr. Bates, in drawing his character, says, “ He was a man deserving praise, even from an enemy. Being advanced to a command at sea, he subdued the Scilly islands, near home ; and having attained the office and title of an admiral, performed things worthy of immortal memory, abroad. For he humbled the pride of France ; reduced Portugal to reason ; broke the naval force of Holland, and drove them to the shelter of their ports ; suppressed the rovers of Barbary, and twice triumphed over Spain. Alone blameable in this, that he complied with the parricides.” † Honest Anthony Wood, who observes, that he was admired and applauded by the royalists, in his blunt manner, celebrates his praises thus : “ He was a man wholly devoted to his country’s service ; resolute in undertakings, and most faithful in the performance of them. With him, valour seldom missed its reward, nor cowardice its punishment.” ‡ We have a fine picture of him by Kennet, in his *Complete History of England*, and a very fair one by Echard : to these, because the lines were never printed before, I will add a short encomium in verse.

While Portugal shall her bless’d Indies boast,
While Naples glories in her flow’ry coast,
While pirates unto Afric’s shore resort,
While Tuscany’s enrich’d by her fair port,
While the Dutch fish, the Spaniard vaunts his mines,
To stealing conquests while proud France inclines,
While seas still roar, while ships divide their waves,
While death, for fame, each gallant sailor braves,
Thy praise shall live ; and future heroes take,
As Cæsar’s once—the nobler name of BLAKE.

* History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602.

† Elencus Motuum, p. 323.

‡ Fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 204.

In reference to the Admirals Deane, Popham, and Rainsborough, we have very few, scarce any, memorials left. As to the first, he is mentioned by Lord Clarendon, as a person raised by his own merit; and though this entitled him, when slain in the Dutch war, to a pompous funeral in Westminster abbey; yet no care was taken to preserve to posterity, either by tomb or inscription, the memory of those military achievements by which his reputation was acquired. * Colonel Popham was raised to the command of the fleet, rather out of regard to his fidelity to the parliament, and his being known for a gallant and well-accomplished gentleman, than for any skill in sea affairs; and as to Rainsborough, we have already shewn how he came in, and went out of the fleet, through the prejudice of the sailors against him, particularly on account of his promoting a very severe discipline. After this, he returned to his command in the army, where he made a considerable figure, chiefly by the favour of Cromwell, who is thought to have had a greater regard for him than for any other person; and that exposed him to the fury of the royalists, who having surprised him in his quarters at Doncaster, to which place he came in order to form the siege of Pomfret castle, on his making some resistance, killed him. †

In respect of other famous seamen within this period, such as Monk, Montague, Lawson, Ayscue, Penn, and

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 559. In a letter of Mynheer Van De Perre's, one of the Dutch ambassadors, dated Westminster, July 18, 1653, N. S. it is said, that since the day of the decease of General Deane, till the day of his funeral, there had been allowed to his widow and children, one hundred pounds sterling *per diem*; and that an estate of six hundred pounds *per annum*, was likewise settled upon her, as a reward for the great services rendered by her husband to the commonwealth. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 339.

† Clarendon, Whitlocke, Heath, Kennet, Rapin. Bates's Elencus Motuum, p. 101. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 257. He was killed October 29, 1648.

many more, to whose memory a just tribute of praise is certainly due, they fall properly under the next chapter; for though their merit was first made known in these times of distraction, as civil wars generally manifest great spirits, yet their noblest exploits were afterwards performed, and those, too, whence they acquired the titles of honour, by which they are now known to posterity. Let us then conclude this part of our subject, with a few remarks on the state of our trade and our plantations.

The commerce of England had been increasing for many years, when the civil war broke out; and there seems to be good reason to believe, that it continued in a flourishing condition during the parliament's administration; but after that, it certainly declined, in some measure, from foreign and unavoidable causes; and in some measure, too, from the errors of the succeeding government. In regard to the former, we must consider, that the peace of Munster in 1648, changed the face of affairs in Europe, as to trade, and this altogether to our disadvantage. Before that time, the French had few or no ships; and though it be true, that our trade with France, even then, created a balance against us; yet we were no losers by it, but rather gainers on the whole; because we exported to Italy, and elsewhere, a great part of the goods we took from France. Before the treaty of Munster, we had the whole Spanish trade in our hands; whereas, afterwards, the Dutch came into a large share of it, at the same time that they managed the whole trade of the French; till, by degrees, rather through the wisdom of the French ministry, than of the nation, it was taken out of their hands also.

As to the errors of the protector's government, in respect of trade, they were great and fatal, though, not to load his memory unjustly, perhaps they arose from necessity, and were not intended. In the first place, taxes were raised much higher than in former times. He imposed

sixty thousand pounds per month, by his own authority ; and afterwards, he procured from parliament an annual grant of two hundred thousand pounds for his civil list ; four hundred thousand pounds for the expense of the navy ; and seven hundred thousand pounds for the army ; so that the whole revenue came to one million three hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, a sum almost incredible, compared with the modest grants of former times. * In the next place, these taxes were very unequally laid ; and most of those burdensome methods of levying money were then introduced, which have lain heavy upon us ever since. † I say nothing of the violent methods taken to raise vast sums upon particular occasions ; which rendered every species of property very precarious, and altogether brought such a discouragement upon industry, as shewed itself in the declension of the coinage ; in the lessening the number of the inhabitants of the city of London ; in decreasing our shipping ; and in many other instances.

But the greatest, and most mischievous of all his mistakes, as to the true interest of England, was in the affair of the Spanish war ; for though the state, separately considered, might be a gainer by the vast quantity of plate taken by Blake and Montague, yet the nation lost thereby ; since, if the peace had continued, we must have drawn larger sums from Spain, in payment for our manufactures ; and consequently, that mighty mass of wealth, which was destroyed at Santa Cruz, was a very considerable detriment to us, as well as to the Spaniards ;

* Happy Future State of England, p. 187. This book has no author's name in the title, but the dedication of it to the earl of Sunderland, is subscribed P. P. i. e. Peter Pett ; and abundance of curious observations are to be found therein.

† For a comprehensive view of these exactions, the reader may have recourse to a calculation prefixed to Heath's Chronicle, wherein it is shewn, that in five years time little less than twenty million pounds were levied upon the people.

for if it had come into their hands, we must have had a large share of it ; whereas it was buried in the sea, and so the whole amount lost to the trading interest in Europe, for ever. Add to this, that in the end, the Spaniards were so exceedingly reduced, that they were forced to hire Dutch ships to go to the Indies ; and this opened a new scene of trade to that wise and industrious people, which otherwise had never fallen into their hands. Part indeed of these losses were concealed at that season from the sight of the nation, by the increase of our plantation trade, of which I shall give a very succinct account.

As the ill-timed, impolitic, and uncharitable severities, exercised by the prelates, in the reign of King Charles I. drove multitudes to New England ; so the distractions of succeeding times contributed greatly to the increase of all our colonies ; but more particularly Barbadoes and Virginia, which, as consisting in self-banished royalists, Cromwell, for his own ease, encouraged ; and the plantation of Jamaica gave a new face to things in that part of the world, by opening several branches of commerce unknown to us before ; this, together with the navigation act, preserved us, as I have said, from feeling all the bad effects, which otherwise must have followed from the very gross mistakes in policy before mentioned, and the consequences of which, in reality, have been severely felt since.

Besides, our plantation trade was then absolutely new ; and no other state interfered in the commerce carried on in Europe, with the commodities which we then brought from those parts ; insomuch, that very large and even immense estates were made in a short time, more especially in Barbadoes ; where some, who carried over only a few hundred pounds, came in a very narrow period, to be possessed of several thousand pounds a year ; which, without question, encouraged numbers of

adventurers, and enabled the English to extend their trade, and their colonies, in that part of the world, as will hereafter be more largely shewn. *

* The reader may receive satisfaction, as to the facts above-mentioned, by consulting the British empire in America, or the particular histories of our plantations. This was said before the publication of that excellent work, entitled, " The European Settlements in America," in two volumes in octavo, which alone will furnish an intelligent peruser with all he can wish to see upon this subject, and is penned with a spirit and perspicuity not to be found in the labours of any former writer.

CHAP. IV.

The Naval History of Great Britain, during the Reign of King Charles II. from the time of his Restoration; containing a distinct account of the several Expeditions against the Algerines; the two Dutch Wars, and other Naval Transactions; the state of our Foreign Trade and Plantations; with Memoirs of all the Eminent Seamen who flourished in his Reign.

WHEN the miseries flowing from the ruin of our old constitution had taught the nation, that the shortest as well as only way to peace and happiness, was to build up again what they had destroyed; the seamen shewed greater readiness than any other description of men to execute this salutary design; and, without waiting for any further orders than those which came from their own officers, cheerfully carried the fleet over to the Dutch coast; where, after giving new names to the ships, they received his majesty, the duke of York, and other persons of principal quality, who had attended him, on board, the 23d of May, 1660, and safely landed them in Kent. *

A.D.
1660.

For this service, Mr. Montague, who commanded that fleet, was created earl of Sandwich, had a garter, and was appointed vice-admiral of England, under his royal highness the duke of York. Sir John Lawson, Sir Richard Stayner, and other officers, received the honour of knight-

* See the close of the earl of Clarendon's History. Heath's Chronicle, p. 450. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 700, 701; who is pleased to observe, that the soldiers at this time were quite altered from their former principles and masters; but the best account is in the earl of Sandwich's Journal, a MS. in the hands of the honourable Edward Wortley Montague, Esq. Sir William Lower's Account of this Voyage.

hood; and the king was pleased to promise the seamen in general a particular share in his favour and esteem. *

A.D.
1660.

In the beginning, at least, of this prince's administration, he certainly shewed a great attention to the public interest; and, as he had good natural abilities, and was inclined to look into naval affairs; so for some time he kept a strict eye on whatever related to the fleet, of which many instances occur in the memoirs of several of its principal officers. In September, 1660, the earl of Sandwich went with a squadron of nine men of war to Helvoetsluys, to bring over the king's sister, the princess of Orange, who not long after died in England. †

Upon this occasion he received great honours in Holland; and it is conceived, that the affection which the people shewed for our king's nephew, the young prince of Orange, afterwards king William, and for the English on his account, gave some jealousy to the states, or at least to such as had the principal direction of affairs; which was increased by a memorial presented by the princess at her departure, recommending her son to their care, and desiring they would now declare their intentions of conferring upon him the charges and dignities which his ancestors had enjoyed. On the twenty-fourth of the same month the fleet returned; and his majesty and the duke of York going on board the admiral's ship, named the Resolution, lay there that night; and reviewed and examined the state of every ship in the squadron next morning. ‡

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 445. Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, by Mr. Edward Philips, from the manuscript papers of the duke of Albemarle, p. 715. Anstis's Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, vol. i. p. 41. in the introduction.

† Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 618. Larrey Histoire d'Angleterre, tom. iv. p. 417. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 7.

‡ Earl of Sandwich's Journal. Heath's Chronicle, p. 470. Gesta Britannorum, p. 488, 489. Skinner's continuation of Bates's Elenus Motuum, part iii. p. 60. Public Intelligencer, 4to. No. 37. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 618, 619.

A.D.
1661.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between his majesty and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of three hundred thousand pounds, the island of Bombay in the East Indies, and the city of Tangier in Africa; it became necessary to send a fleet to bring over the queen, and to secure the last-mentioned city against any attempt from the Moors. For this purpose, the earl of Sandwich was again sent with a numerous fleet, which sailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs, after having been first visited by the duke of York.*

His lordship sailed first to Lisbon, and from thence to Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the English on the 30th of January, 1662; when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an English garrison, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portuguese governor.† The admiral then returned to Lisbon, where he received the queen's portion, consisting of money, jewels, sugars, and other commodities, and of bills of exchange, and then sailed with her majesty for England, and arrived at Spithead the 14th of May, 1662.‡

There was certainly no occasion for so large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen; but as it afforded a fair pretence for sending such a force into the Mediterranean, this opportunity was seized to execute things of greater moment. The Algerines, and other piratical states of Barbary, taking advantage of our intestine confusions, had broken the peace they made with admiral Blake; and began to take English ships, with as little ceremony

* Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 182. Echard's History of England, p. 800, 801. Stevens's History of Portugal, p. 503. Memoires d'Ablancourt, p. 74—77. Journal of the earl of Sandwich.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 500. Kennet's Chronicle, p. 617. Annals of the Universe, p. 53.

‡ Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 313—317. Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 750, 751. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 255. Skinner's Continuation of Bates's Elencus Motuum, part iii. p. 69.

A.D.
1661.

as they did the Dutch and French. To put an end to this, the earl of Sandwich with his fleet came before Algiers the 29th of July, 1661, and sent captain Spragge with the king's letter to the principal person in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders also to bring off Mr. Brown, the consul; which was accordingly done. That evening a council of war was holden, and, the next morning, certain propositions were made to the regency, by captain Spragge and consul Brown. About eleven o'clock these gentlemen returned on board the admiral, with an answer, that the government of Algiers would consent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of the right of searching our ships. This insolence of these sea-robbers sprung out of the jealousy of the Christian powers, who would never unite to crush this nest of pirates, and give the beautiful and rich country they inhabit to some prince of their own faith, which would be a common benefit to all commercial nations.

In the mean time, to shew they were in earnest, they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the mole-head to the opposite corner of their port; that, by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raised, they might be able to defend themselves from any attempts that could be made by sea. The earl of Sandwich, however, resolved to make a bold trial to burn the ships in the harbour, but the wind prevented him; so that, after a good deal of firing on both sides, wherein more hurt was done to the city than the ships, the admiral thought fit to sail for Lisbon,* on the 1st of August, leaving Sir John Lawson with a strong squadron, to protect the English trade and harass the enemy; which he performed with such success,

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 500. But most of the facts above mentioned are taken from the earl of Sandwich's Journal. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 250. Annals of the Universe, p. 56.

that, after taking many of their ships, he forced, by degrees, all these piratical states to conclude a peace with Great Britain, without any reservation as to their favourite article of searching our ships; though it must be confessed, that the Algerines, retaining still a strong opinion of the strength of their fortifications, did not keep it long, but returned to their old practices; * which obliged the government here to send fresh orders to Sir John Lawson, to employ force in bringing them to reason.

We are now to enter upon a more serious affair than any that had hitherto claimed the care of the English court. On his first return to the throne of his ancestors, King Charles and his ministers had certainly shewn a great concern for the true interest of the nation; as will appear to any attentive reader of our history, who observes the advantages we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with Spain and Holland. By the former, he secured the possession of Jamaica, though it had been acquired by Cromwell; and thereby obtained some sort of satisfaction for the injury intended him a little before his restoration, when it is certain that the Spaniards would have secured his person, if he had not prevented them by an unexpected retreat out of their dominions to Breda. †

He also restored to the nation the advantages they drew from the Spanish trade; and the affection of the

* Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 313. Heath's Chronicle, p. 500. Annals of the Universe, p. 56. Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tom. vi. part ii. p. 419, 420.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 740, where it appears, that Mr. William Galloway, then page to Don Alonzo de Cardinas, carried an order he had received (his master being in bed and asleep) from the M. de Carcenas, then governor of the low Countries, to secure his majesty's person next day, to the king at midnight, who, thereupon, rose and made his escape about three in the morning. This no doubt left a strong impression on his majesty's mind to the prejudice of the Spaniards.

Spanish people to the English, preferable to any other nation, appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the Dutch, and even forbade their ships of war to enter their ports, as the Dutch writers themselves tell us. * The treaty with Holland carried things also to a great height; for it not only secured the respect due to the English flag, but likewise procured some other concessions very honourable for the nation; and the island of Poleron, more correctly Pulo Ron, *i. e.* the Isle of Ron, for the East India Company. His majesty had also an intention to have secured absolutely and for ever, the fishery on the British coast to his own subjects: but, before that could be effectually done, the war broke out; for the true grounds of which it is not over easy to account; and yet, without accounting for them, books of this nature can be but of little value. †

The Dutch began early to conceive jealous prejudices against the king's government, and in reality, to apprehend our becoming their superiours in commerce, in which, we were every day visibly increasing. These sentiments engaged them, and especially their East and West India Companies, which then carried on the greatest part of their commerce, to take various steps, in those parts of the world where their power prevailed, to the prejudice of the English. The East India Company,

* Kennet, vol. iii. Echard. Welwood. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. Letters of the earl of Arlington, p. 43, 44. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i.

† Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vi. part ii. p. 422. Ludlow in his Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 112, says, The foundation of this treaty having been laid in the blood of three of his friends, (Barkstead, Okey, and Corbet, all of them regicides, and deservedly put to death for the share they had in the execrable murder of their sovereign,) the superstructure was raised with the like materials; and complains, that the Dutch agreed to an article, that if any who had been the judges of Charles I. or otherwise excepted, should be found in their territories, they would, upon demand, deliver them up to such as the king of England should appoint to receive them.

particularly, delayed the liquidation of the damages the English were to receive; peremptorily refused to deliver up the island before mentioned; and pretended to prescribe the places where, and the terms on which, the English should trade in the rest of the ports of India. The other Company trod exactly in their steps, and proceeded so far as to get Cape-corse castle into their hands, which belonged to the English Company, * trading to Africa.

The duke of York, who, through his whole life was the patron, was at this time governor, of the African company; and, being informed of this, sent major, afterwards Sir Robert Holmes, with four frigates, to the coast of Guinea, in order to make reprisals. This was in 1661; and Sir Robert, in consequence of this commission, summoned the Dutch to surrender Cape Verde to the Company within a limited time; yet offered them the liberty to continue their trade there as before. He then proceeded to a small fort possessed by the Dutch, who, firing their cannon to prevent the landing of the English, were at length obliged to surrender; and the fort, being in the hands of our Company, received the name of James-fort in honour of the duke. From thence proceeding to the river Gambia, he dislodged the Hollanders, and built a new fort. †

The Hollanders still refusing to deliver up to us Cape Corse, Sir Robert was sent a second time, *anno* 1663, with a small squadron, to take it out of their hands by force. But, searching a Dutch ship by the way, he found

A.D.
1663.

* Philips's Continuation of Heath, p. 525. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. book iv. chap. 2. Skinner's Continuation of Bates's Elencus Motuum, part iii. p. 74. Bishop Parker's History of his own time, p. 85. See the king's letter to the states-general on the causes of this war, and Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 682, 683.

† O. Dapper Description de l'Afrique, p. 502. Vie de Ruyter, p. 171. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. p. 58.

express orders, as King Charles informs the states in his letter, October 4, 1666, from the Dutch West India Company to their governor, General Valkenburg, to seize the English fort at Cormartin; which discovery disposed him to go, as he thought he had a right, beyond his original commission. *

A.D.
1664.

In the latter end of the month of January, 1664, Sir Robert Holmes arrived with his squadron at Cape Verde. This cape is part of the main land of Africa, and lies on the west side of the kingdom of Jaloffii, and to the north-west of the river Gambia, in the 15th degree of north latitude. About a cannon-shot from thence lies the now so well known island Goree, whereon were two forts. The lower fort was furnished with about twenty pieces of cannon, and the upper with eight: the former was called Fort Nassau, the latter Fort Orange. Sir Robert first summoned these two forts on the island Goree; and, because the governor refused to surrender, he attacked and took them next day, together with a ship called the *Crocodile*, lying under their protection; after having the evening before taken two other Dutch ships, called the *Vich-korf* and the *Vischer*. In these forts he found a great quantity of goods ready to be shipped for Holland, and, among the rest, twenty thousand hides. These he loaded on his own and the Dutch ships, and transported them to Sierra Liona. †

He next proceeded to attack St. George del Mina, the strongest of all the Dutch forts; but though himself and his seamen acted with great bravery, yet the design miscarried, and he was obliged to sheer off with some loss. To repair this misfortune, he resolved to attack Cape

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 535, where there is an extract of Major Holmes's proceedings.

† Account of Captain Holmes's Proceedings on the Coast of Africa, Heath's *Chronicle*, continued by Philips, p. 535. Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 32. *Annals of the Universe*, p. 36. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 151—155.

Corse castle; which, though it was so strong by situation, that one hundred men might have kept it against one thousand, yet he soon took it and some other places; after which he sailed from the Coast of Guinea to North America, where he reduced a Dutch settlement, called the New Netherlands, in the month of August, 1664, changing the name into that of New York, in honour of the duke. Yet this was not done merely by way of reprisal, but partly by virtue of a claim of right: for the New Netherlands, being first discovered by the English under the conduct of John and Sebastian Cabot, who took possession of all that northern coast in the name of King Henry VII. of England, had been always esteemed a part of the English-American dominions, and the title to it maintained by our monarchs till the year 1637, when it was first seized and planted by the Dutch.*

These proceedings were hitherto of a private nature. The injuries done to the English were done by the Dutch West India Company; the reprisals made by the English were under the charter of the African company; the crown had not either fitted out Sir Robert Holmes, or given him any commission. But, when the news of what was done reached Holland, the De Witte faction, who then carried all at their pleasure, resolved instantly to

* Douglas's Summary, Historical and Political, of the British Settlements in North America, vol. i. p. 204. vol. ii. p. 221. The short and true state of the matter is this: The country mentioned in the text was part of the province of Virginia; and, as there is no settling an extensive country at once, a few Swedes crept in there, who surrendered the plantations they could not defend to the Dutch; who having bought the charts and papers of one Hudson a seaman, who, by commission from the crown of England, discovered a river to which he gave his name, conceived they had purchased a province. Sometimes, when we had strength in those parts, they were English subjects; at others, when that strength declined, they were subjects of the United Provinces. However, upon King Charles's claim the states disowned the title, but resumed it during our confusions. March 12, 1663-4, Charles II. granted it to the duke of York.

fall upon the English in those parts with a great fleet; and this without any declaration of war, or even intimation of their design to repair themselves in damages for what, without any royal commission, Holmes had taken from them. *

The chief difficulty lay in sending such a fleet safely into those seas, before the design could be known in England, and the project formed by them, so it was executed with equal cunning and success. Admiral de Ruyter was at that time in the Mediterranean, where he had orders either to make a peace with, or at least to defend their merchants from the insults of the piratical states; to which end, as we before observed, Sir John Lawson was also there with a squadron of English ships, and the states requested of King Charles, that these two admirals might act in conjunction. Yet now it was thought convenient to remove De Ruyter from thence, and to send him to commit hostilities against us, then acting as their allies, on the coast of Guinea, and in the West Indies. To this he was himself well enough inclined, from a difference that had happened between him and Sir John Lawson about the salute at sea, which the Dutch admiral paid, and Sir John refused to return; alleging, that his orders did not allow him to strike to the subjects of any king or state whatever. In other respects, he assisted the Dutch as friends and allies as much as was in his power.

* So far from it, that the king confined Holmes when he returned, and did not discharge him, till he made it evidently appear, that he had not infringed the law of nations. *Gesta Britannorum*, p. 493, 506. *Philip's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 583. Nay, M. de Neuville, *Hist. de Hollande*, tom. iii. p. 242, says expressly, that the king made this war, that he might accommodate himself to the disposition of his parliament and people.

† Brandt leeven van Ruyter, fol. 290, 291. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 63, 64. See also the *Memoirs of Sir J. Lawson*.

The majority of the states-general of the United Provinces were not for a war with England; and, consequently, such orders as the ministers of the De Witte party wanted, to authorise De Ruyter, were not to be had from them in a fair and open way; yet, rather than not have them, the Lovestein faction resolved to sacrifice their constitution. De Ruyter had sent home an account of his proceedings against the pirates: they got this report referred to a committee of seven who were in their interests; and this committee drew up an order, directing the admiral to sail to the coast of Guinea, there to make reprisals upon the English. But, as this order must be read to, and approved by the states, the ministers took care to draw it up in loose and equivocal terms; procuring also the secretary to read it over to them in such a hurry as rendered it altogether unintelligible; then they thrust it among some orders of course, and engaging such as they thought would be against it, in private conversation, it was read without being attended to, or its importance apprehended. Lastly, it was brought with a bundle of papers, most of them were matters of form, to be signed by the president for the week; who, as usual, set his hand to this among the rest, without reading it. This is a true state of the fact, as reported by the Dutch historians. *

When De Ruyter received this order, he did not communicate it to his officers; but, having first got such a supply of provisions as he thought might be necessary, pretended to have sudden information of certain pirates cruizing near the Canaries; and, under colour of giving chase to these, he sailed to Cape de Verde, and so far executed

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 714. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. 14. La vie de Ruyter. *Lettres de d'Estrades*, tom. ii. p. 12. See Lord Arlington's letter to Sir Richard Fanshaw, the king's ambassador at Madrid, dated the 29th of September, 1664.

his commission, as to oblige the governors for our African company either to surrender or demolish several of their forts. He likewise seized a great quantity of goods belonging to that company: after which, he made himself master of Fort Cormantin, a place which was built by, and had always been in the possession of, the English. But Cape Corse and Chama, two of the places taken by Sir Robert Holmes, remained unreduced. From the coast of Guinea De Ruyter sailed to Barbadoes; where he attacked a considerable fleet of merchant-ships lying under protection of the forts, but was repulsed with great loss. Then passing over to Montserat, Nevis, and Newfoundland, he took above twenty sail of English ships, and so returned to Holland. *

A.D.
1665.

These actions on both sides served to exasperate the two nations, and to hasten the preparations for war; which was proclaimed by the Dutch in January, and by the English in February, 1665. † But, before it came to that, the Heer van Goch was sent by the states to importune the king with memorials and complaints. To which the king's answer was, that he had received no particular information of the affairs in Guinea, and that the two companies must decide their disputes. These complaints of the ambassadors being likewise retaliated by the English merchants, whose incessant representations of their wrongs obliged the king to repeat his demands of

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 530. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 32. Bishop Parker's History of his own Time, p. 86. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 76. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 64. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 744. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 7. La vie de Ruyter, p. 192—204.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 531. Annals of the Universe, p. 114. Gesta Britannorum, p. 506. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 736.

satisfaction, as the constant refusal of the satisfaction demanded was the cause of the open rupture.*

Several writers, who have censured King Charles's government, would have us believe, that this war was of his majesty's procuring : whereas nothing can be more certain than that he was supported in it by advice of parliament, as he had been driven into it by the clamours of the people. The house of commons told him in one of their representations, that the Dutch had injured his subjects to the amount of eight hundred thousand pounds. The king promised to take care of the merchants, and of the nation ; and when he found a war necessary, and desired the city of London to lend him one hundred thousand pounds, they did it very readily, and even repeated the favour as readily, when the king condescended to shew them that the first loan was not sufficient to fit out the fleet. The parliament, as the king had acted in these matters in consequence of their address, and was, by thus acting, on the brink of a war, for which he was unprovided, and had been assisted by the city of London ; thought themselves obliged to take notice of this, and therefore both houses named a committee to carry the city their thanks.†

These surely are demonstrative proofs, that this was not, as many writers style it, a court war ; but a just, and therefore a popular war. Yet, it must be allowed, that it was chiefly brought about by the artifices of France, the emissaries of that crown instigating the Dutch, and especially De Witte, who, though a wise man, was their dape, to do all they did ; and, at the same time, omitting

* Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 271. Annals of the Universe, p. 110. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 735.

† History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 82. Coke's Detection, part ii. p. 32. Kennet's Complete History, vol. iii. p. 271.

no opportunity of inflaming us against them for what they did. Their design was to engage the two maritime powers in a cruel war, that they might again, as before, weaken and waste each other's strength; and so be less able to oppose the designs of the French ministry, one of which was to render France a naval power.*

A.D.
1665.

The first action of consequence, that happened after the war actually broke out, was the attacking a Dutch fleet coming richly laden from Smyrna upon the Spanish coast near Cadiz. It consisted of forty merchant-ships, some of them very large, and well provided with ordnance; and their convoy was composed of four third-rate men of war. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the English squadron, had with him about nine ships.† With these he attacked the enemy so successfully, that having killed their commodore Brackel, and taken or sunk four of their richest ships; he drove the rest into the bay of Cadiz, where for some time he blocked them up. A misfortune of the same kind befel the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, out of which about one hundred and thirty ships were taken. Some of these, however, appearing to

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 527, 528. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, part iii. p. 75. Annals of the Universe, p. 95, 96, 97, 98. Bishop Parker's History of his own Time, p. 86. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 25. Coke in his Detection, vol. ii. p. 35, is pleased to say, he will not dispute the justice of entering into this war, but, that he may have something to cavil at, condemns the precipitancy with which the government embarked in it, and thinks the crown should first have formed alliances abroad. See a very curious letter of Sir William Temple to his brother in his Works, vol. ii. p. 41. wherein he has copiously stated the grounds and occasions of this war, as alleged by all parties. See Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 164, 165. The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 80—83. Lettres, Memoirs, et Negotiations de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, tom. i. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 737.

† His own narrative says but eight.

be French bottoms, were discharged; but the far greater part were declared good prize. *

These heavy misfortunes obliged the Dutch, contrary to their inclinations, and indeed to their usual practice, to lay an immediate embargo on all vessels in their ports; by which their fisheries, and all the annual commerce, were stopped for that season. They likewise settled a fund of fourteen millions of guilders for the support of the war; and, in order to shew that there ought to be some difference between such as are made by trading nations, and those entered into by arbitrary princes, for the mere thirst of dominion; they ordered about fifty English and Scots vessels, which had been seized in their harbours, to be set at liberty; and, on the arrival of those ships in England, the civility was returned by a like release of all the Dutch ships that had been stopped here. †

The English fleet was first ready, though the Dutch were the first who began to arm. This fleet of ours consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire-ships and ketches, and had about twenty-two thousand seamen and soldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the duke of York, as lord high-admiral; Prince Rupert was admiral of the white; and the earl of Sandwich of the blue. April 21, 1665, the English sailed for the Dutch coast, and on the 28th sent in a squadron so near the shore and harbour of the Texel, that the country was exceedingly alarmed. After remaining there a month, the fleet was so ruffled by a storm, that it was found necessary to retire toward our own shore.

A.D.
1665.

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 529, 530. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 78. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 36. Annals of the Universe, p. 114. Gesta Britannorum, p. 506. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 67.

† Busnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 736. Le Clère Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 8. Leeven van de Witte, p. 252.

This opportunity the Dutch took of sending out their fleet, which, by the latter end of May, appeared about the Dogger Sands. They were divided into seven squadrons, the first under Opdam, consisting of fourteen men of war, and two fire-ships; the second under John Everts, of the like force; the third commanded by admiral Cortenaer, consisting of fourteen men of war and one fire-ship; the fourth was under Stillingwert, composed likewise of fourteen men of war and a fire-ship; the fifth conducted by Van Tromp, the son of the famous old admiral, made up of sixteen men of war and two fire-ships; the sixth under Cornelius Everts, consisting of fourteen men of war and a fire-ship; the last commanded by Schram, in which were sixteen men of war and two fire-ships; in all, a hundred and three men of war, eleven fire-ships, and seven yachts. A mighty fleet! far superiour to what the French conceived it possible for the states to fit out, and well furnished with men; but this was by the help of their India ships, whence they were mostly taken, partly by persuasion, and partly by force. *

A.D.
1665.

The Duke of York having retired with our navy from the Dutch coast when they came out, afforded them an opportunity to fall on our Hamburgh fleet, which they did not neglect; and they were so fortunate therein as to take the greatest part, by which our merchants suffered nearly two hundred thousand pounds loss. Some attributed this to ill management; others, with more reason, to unavoidable accidents; for they had a convoy, and the duke of York sent the *Roe-ketch* to inform them of his departure,

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 536. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 79. Bishop Parker's History of his own Time, p. 90. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 78. Annals of the Universe, p. 115. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 740. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 348. Leeven van de Witte, p. 252.

which not meeting this fleet, proved their ruin.* This exceedingly exasperated the English, and, at the same time, raised not a little the spirits of the Dutch.

Admiral Opdam, who commanded the latter, was a prudent as well as a truly gallant commander. The great John De Witte raised him to this envied employment; but finding him inclined to the prince of Orange, he became his enemy, and as soon as he was out at sea wrote him a letter, directing him to fight at all events, and this with such a peculiar quickness of style, as proved the letter his, though written in the name of the states. Opdam resolved to obey these orders, though contrary to the advice of most of his officers, and his own opinion, as appeared by his sending on shore his plate before the engagement: but more so from his expressions on taking the sentiments of a council of war: "I am," said he, "entirely in your sentiments: but here are my orders. To-morrow my head shall be bound with laurel or with cypress:" and in this disposition he sailed to find out the English navy. † That did not require much time; for the duke of York was no less eager to revenge the loss of the *Hamburgh* fleet. On the third of June the English and Dutch navies engaged about three in the morning off *Lowestoffe*; when, by an oversight of the Dutch, as their writers say, the English had the weather-gage, an advantage they knew how to use as well as keep. ‡

Things went at first very equally on both sides; several squadrons charging through and through, without any

* Philips's *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 538. Skinner's *Continuation of Bates*, p. 80. *Gesta Britannorum*, p. 508. Kennet's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 276.

† Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 741. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. xiv. p. 73.

‡ *Annals of the Universe*, p. 116. Philips's *Continuation of Baker's Chron.* p. 753. Basnage, Le Clerc, Neuville, and other Dutch writers.

remarkable advantage. But about noon, the earl of Sandwich, with the blue squadron, fell into the center of the Dutch fleet, divided it into two parts, and began that confusion which ended in a total defeat.* The duke of York in the *Royal Charles*, a ship of eighty guns, and admiral Opdam in the *Eendracht*, of eighty-four, were closely engaged. The fight continued for some hours with great obstinacy, and his royal highness was in the utmost danger. Several persons of distinction were killed on board his ship, particularly the earl of Falmouth, the king's favourite, † Lord Muskerry and Mr. Boyle, son to

* Earl of Sandwich's Journal, MS.

† "The victory and triumph of that day," says the noble historian, "was surely very great, and a just argument of public joy: how it came to be no greater, shall be said anon; and the trouble and grief in many noble families, for the loss of so many worthy and gallant persons, could not but be very lamentable in wives, in fathers and mothers, and the other nearest relations; but no sorrow was equal, at least none so remarkable, as the king's was for the earl of Falmouth. They who know his majesty best, and had seen how unshaken he had stood in other very terrible assaults, were amazed at the flood of tears he shed upon this occasion. The immenseness of the victory, and the consequences that might have attended it, the safety and preservation of his brother, with so much glory, on whose behalf he had had so terrible apprehensions during the three days fight, having, by the benefit of the wind, heard the thunder of the ordnance from the beginning, even after, by the lessening of the noise, as from a greater distance, he concluded that the enemy was upon flight; yet all this, and the universal joy that he saw in the countenance of all men, for the victory and the safety of the duke, made no impression in him towards the mitigation of his passion, for the loss of this young favourite, in whom few other men had ever observed any virtue or quality, which they did not wish their best friends without, and very many did believe that his death was a great ingredient and considerable part of the victory. He was young, and of insatiable ambition, and a little more experience might have taught him all things of which his weak parts were capable. But they who observed the strange degree of favour he had on the sudden arrived to, even from a detestation the king had towards him, and concluded from thence, and more from the deep sorrow the king was possessed with for his death, to what a

the earl of Corke, with one ball, and so near the duke, that he was covered with their blood and brains; nay, a splinter from the last mentioned gentleman's skull razed his hand. * About one, the Dutch admiral blew up, with a prodigious noise; but how the accident happened is uncertain. Some say, a shot fell in the powder-room; others, that Opdam's black blew up the ship, to be revenged of his master for beating him. The most probable account is, that it was occasioned by some accident in distributing the powder. † In this vessel, together with the admiral, perished five hundred men, only five of the whole crew escaping; many of those lost were volunteers, of the best families of Holland, and not a few Frenchmen, who took this opportunity of being present in a sea-fight. ‡

A little after this unlucky blow, the Dutch received still a greater. Four fine ships, the largest of sixty, the least of forty guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one fire-ship: soon after, three larger vessels, by the

"prodigious height he might have reached in a little time more, were not at all troubled that he was taken out of the way." *Life of the earl of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 512.

* Philip's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 538, 539. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 80, 81. *Gesta Britannorum*, p. 508. Echard's History of England, p. 820. The lord Muskerrey was the eldest son of the earl of Clancarty, and a young nobleman of extraordinary courage and expectation; he had been colonel of a regiment of foot in Flanders, under the duke, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer. He was of the duke's bedchamber. Mr. Richard Boyle was a younger son of the earl of Burlington, a youth of great hopes, and newly come home from travel, where he had spent his time with singular advantage, and took the first opportunity to lose his life in the king's service. *Life of the earl of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 507, 508.

† *Annals of the Universe*, p. 130. Bishop Parker's History of his own Times, p. 91. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 741. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 73. *Neuville Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. chap. 9.

‡ History of the three Dutch Wars, p. 390.

same accident, shared the same fate. The *Orange*, a ship of seventy-five guns, after a most gallant defence, was also burnt; and thus, towards four in the afternoon all fell into confusion. Vice-admiral Stillingwert was shot through the middle by a cannon-ball; vice-admiral Cortenaer received a shot in his thigh, of which he instantly died. These ships bearing out of the line on the death of their commanders, without striking their flags, drew many after them; so that, by eight at night, Tromp, who held out bravely to the last, and fought retreating, had not above thirty ships left with him. This was the most signal victory the English ever gained, and the severest blow the Dutch ever felt at sea.*

According to our accounts, which upon a strict examination I have always found moderate, the Dutch had eighteen ships taken, several of which we quitted, and fourteen sunk in this action, besides such as were burnt or blown up. Yet their accounts admit of no more than nine ships taken, one, their admiral, blown up, and eight burnt.† As to our loss, which was far more unaccountable, there is no dispute about it. We lost the charity, a ship of forty-six guns, with most of her men, in the beginning of the fight; we had in the whole, but two hundred and fifty men killed, and three hundred and forty men wounded; on the other side, they lost at least six thousand men, including two thousand three hundred taken prisoners.‡ Yet some great men of ours bought

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 741. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. xiv. Levens der Zeehelden *Tweede deel*, p. 166. Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 37. Skinner's *Continuation of Bates*, p. 82.

† Philips's *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 538. Kennet's *History of England*, vol. iii. Echard's *History of England*, p. 820. *State Letters of Roger earl of Orrery*, p. 99.

‡ Philips's *Continuation of Baker's Chronicle*, p. 753. Echard. Kennet. Lord Arlington's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 81. where he says, the dissipating the enemy's fleet, killing their admirals, and forcing them

this advantage to their country at the expense of their blood; such as the earls of Portland and Marlborough, * vice-admiral Samson, and Sir John Lawson, who died of a wound he received in the knee, though he survived the battle.

The Dutch ascribe this signal defeat in a great measure to the ill conduct of their own officers and seamen, many of whom, according to the genius of the nation, were severely punished. Thus much is allowed on all sides, that, except sixteen or seventeen of their captains who had served in the former war, they had none of tolerable knowledge, or true courage, most of them being the sons of rich burgo-masters, brought in, to secure their father's interest, by De Witte; who, though he thus incapacitated

again into their ports, is what we value ourselves most upon; and all this with the loss only of one ship on our side, two hundred and eighty-three men killed, and four hundred and forty wounded. The enemy, besides their ships, will find they want at least seven thousand of their men.

* "In Prince Rupert's ship," says the earl of Clarendon, "who did wonders that day, and in that of the earl of Sandwich, who behaved himself with notable courage and conduct, there were many men slain, and some gentlemen volunteers of the best families, whose memories should be preserved. The earl of Marlborough, who had the command of one of the best ships, and had great experience at sea, having made many long voyages at sea, and being now newly returned from the East Indies, whither the king had sent him with a squadron of ships, to receive the island of Bombayne from Portugal, was in this battle likewise slain. He was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than any fortune could have given him. The earl of Portland was a volunteer on board his ship, and lost his life by his side, being a young man of very good parts, newly come of age, and the son of a very wise and worthy father, who died a few months before: and he having a long and intire friendship with the earl of Marlborough, his son, though of a melancholic nature, intended to lead an active life, and to apply himself to it under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died very bravely." See his life, written by himself, vol. ii. p. 508.

them for fighting, yet compelled them against reason, and their own opinion, to fight; because, at all events, a battle was for his interest; since, gained, it raised his authority at home; or, lost, it must from abroad bring in his allies the French. This refined policy had well nigh ruined himself and his friends; for the mob rose, and threatened nothing less than a total revolution. At the Brill, Admiral Everts was thrown into the river, and with much difficulty rescued by the magistrates from the populace: and similar tumults happened at Rotterdam, and elsewhere.*

There is very little room to doubt, that if there had not been some mismanagement on the side of the English, this, as it was the first might have been also the last action in this war; for the Dutch fleet fled in great confusion, their captains behaving ill, and their admirals quarrelling about command; so that if the English had pressed them vigorously, as it was in their power, having the wind; so many ships might have been either sunk, disabled, or taken, as must have forced a peace; for which there was a very strong party in Holland, who did not like the dominion of the pensionary De Witte, and the dependence in which he held even the States, who seldom ventured to do any thing of importance when he was absent.† This great opportunity was lost, through the English fleet's slacking sail in the night, contrary to the

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 743. Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 74. Three of their captains were shot on the 4th of July; two were ordered to have their swords broken over their heads, and declared incapable of serving more in their navy; and the master to vice-admiral Cortenaer was condemned to stand two hours upon a scaffold, with a halter about his neck. *Annals of the Universe*, p. 130. Kennet's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 277.

† Wicquefort *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, liv. xv. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 272, 273. See also Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Coventry's account of this action, who was secretary to his royal highness.

express directions of his royal highness the duke, before he went to rest.

It is far from being an easy matter to inform the reader, how this came to pass. But after having examined the point, with as much impartiality, as well as diligence, as the great importance of it deserved, it appears to have stood thus. The duke, in quality of lord-high-admiral, had two captains on board his ship, Sir William Penn, who had the rank of a vice-admiral; and captain, afterwards Sir John Harman. Sir William was gone to rest, as well as the duke, so that the command remained in Captain Harman, who was himself at the helm, when one Mr. Brounker, who was of the duke's bed-chamber, came and told him, "that he ought to consider, how much his royal highness's person had been already exposed in the action, and how much greater risk he might run, if their ship, which was the headmost of the fleet, should fall in single with those of the enemy, upon their own coasts." Harman heard him, but answered like an honest brave man, as he was, that he could do nothing without orders. Brounker upon this, went to the duke's cabin, and returned with orders, in his royal highness's name, to make less sail; these Captain Harman, without the least scruple, obeyed; which created some confusion in the English fleet, several ships being very near running foul on each other.*

In the morning, the duke expressed surprise and resentment, to find they were at such a distance from the Dutch, that there was no longer any hopes of coming up with them. It then appeared, that either through cowardice, or something worse, Brounker had carried Captain Harman orders, which he never received.† However, this

* Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 513. North's Examen, p. 119, 120. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 209, 210.

† Coke's Detection, p. 37.

was concealed from his royal highness, and other excuses made, such as a brisk wind from shore, and their fire-ships being all spent. But the truth was nevertheless very soon whispered, though the duke was not acquainted with it, in less than six months after; upon which he discharged Brounker his service, and would have done more, if the celebrated duchess of Cleveland, then countess of Castlemain, with whom he was a favourite, had not by her interest with the king, protected him.* However, at the end of the war, when the House of Commons was out of humour, this affair was mentioned, and inquired into; upon which Brounker, who was a member, was most deservedly expelled, and ordered to be impeached, but that was never prosecuted.†

His royal highness left the fleet soon after, and returned to London, to make a report of all things to the king. His majesty having attended his mother to the coasts, went on board the Royal Charles in the river, where he made a strict enquiry into the conduct of the officers, and the state of their ships; and receiving satisfaction as to both, he there, as an encouragement to a like behaviour in time to come, knighted the most considerable commanders, viz. Admiral Tyddiman, Captain Cuttings, Captain Jordan, Captain Spragge, &c. after which, he directed that all the ships should be repaired with the utmost diligence, and the fleet, as soon as possible, be put into a condition to go out again to sea.‡

* The reader, who consults the authors I have cited, will see very different editions of this story, and I hope agree with me, that it proves the fate of nations may depend on very slight events, as in this case, on a private man's telling a lie; that princes should immediately examine and clear up whatever respects their honour; that resentment operates on most minds. Clarendon is for throwing it on Sir William Coventry; North, upon the Dutch; Bishop Burnet, on Sir William Penn. All of these could not be possibly guilty; but for any evidence that has appeared, they might be all equally innocent.

† History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 118.

‡ Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 539. The Intel-

The king's command, their generous sense of their late victory; and the news of two rich Dutch squadrons being at sea; quickly brought out the English navy, to the number of sixty sail; and on the 5th of July, they steered from Southwold-bay, into which they put immediately after the last engagement, for the coast of Holland. The standard was borne by the gallant earl of Sandwich, to whom Sir George Ayscue was vice-admiral, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman rear-admiral. Sir William Penn was admiral of the white, Sir William Berkley vice-admiral, and Sir Joseph Jordan rear-admiral. The blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whose vice-admiral and rear-admiral were, Sir Christopher Myngs, and Sir John Harman. The designs they had in view were, to intercept De Ruyter on his return; or, at least, to take and burn the Turkey and East India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence. *

They succeeded in neither of these schemes. De Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the north of Scotland, and arrived safely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet.† The Turkey and India fleet, consisting of twenty sail, under the command of Commodore Bitter, chose to take the same northern route, in hopes of avoiding the English navy; but, having intelligence at sea, that this would

ligencer, No. 47, p. 464. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 83. Annals of the Universe, p. 115. Journal of the Earl of Sandwich. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 82. The queen-mother, at parting with the king, prevailed on him to promise her, that the duke should not go to sea again in the next expedition. Life of Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 516.

* Annals of the Universe, p. 118. Lord Arlington's Letters, p. 83, 84. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 277. Echard's History of England, p. 821.

† Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 744, 745. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces, tom. iii. liv. xiv. La Vie De Ruyter, p. 250. Lord Arlington's Letters, p. 85. Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades, tom. ii. p. 250.

prove very difficult, if not impossible, they took shelter in the port of Bergen in Norway. *

The port was pretty easy of access, and covered only by an old castle; the Danish governor indeed promised the Dutch to do for them what he could, and they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to render him able. In order to this, they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were disposed on a line before the fort: then the Dutch drew another line cross the bay, consisting of their largest ships; and in this posture they waited for the English. It was not long before they appeared; for the earl of Sandwich having advice of their having put into Bergen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman with fourteen sail of men of war, and three fire-ships, to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was against him, and the enemy made a prodigious fire from the castle, the line, and the ships; so that at last he was forced to bear out of the bay, and this he performed without the loss of a ship; though he had five or six very ill treated. †

The States by this time, partly by threats, partly by punishment, but still more by promises and rewards, had again manned out a stout fleet. Admiral de Ruyter had the command of it, which gave no small displeasure to Tromp; but he grew into a better temper, when he perceived that his competitor had the command only in appearance. ‡ Their great statesman De Witte, not satis-

* Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 84. Annals of the Universe, p. 118. Gesta Britannorum, p. 510. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 38. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 747.

† In order to come as near the truth as possible, I have compared the Dutch commodore's letter with one wrote by the earl of Arlington, secretary of state, dated from Salisbury, Aug. 22, 1665, where the court then resided on account of the plague being in London. Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 86, 87. See also Miscellanea Aulica, p. 359, 360.

‡ Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. p. 82. Neuville Hist. de Hollande, tom. iii. c. 10. Leeyan Van Tromp.

fied with directing all things in the Dutch councils, resolved also to direct their fleets; to which end he got himself, and two other deputies, Messrs. Huygens and Boreel, appointed to attend the admiral. A step opposed by all his friends, and directly contrary to the sentiments of the French king; who was afraid, if by any accident he lost M. De Witte, he should not find the states so tractable as they had been for some years past. *

The pensionary, however, persisted in this design, and gained a very great reputation in his new character, even before the fleet put to sea; and, though I cannot say that this relates to English history, yet, as it has a near relation to naval affairs, I hope the reader will not be displeased at my telling him, how De Witte acquired so suddenly this high reputation. When he came on board the fleet in the Texel, the pilots, captains, and admirals, were unanimously of opinion, that they must wait for a fair wind in order to get out, though there were two passages. As to the larger, they said, that two and twenty winds might absolutely hinder a fleet from sailing through it; and that in respect to the latter, it was too shallow for large ships to pass. M. De Witte, who was no seaman, inquired into the reason why so many winds should keep them in, and the next morning demonstrated to the pilots upon their own principles, that no winds blowing from more than four of these points, could produce this effect; which experience has since fully justified. Yet the wind being at that time in one of these four points, De Witte went the same day and examined the Spanish passage with a lead, and having done this, he and M. Van Haaren, who accompanied him, undertook with the next tide, to carry out two of the largest ships in the fleet, which they performed very safely, and the rest followed the next

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 745.

day; and ever since this has been called **DE WITTE'S PASSAGE.** *

The point he had principally in view was, to bring off the East India fleet from Bergen, which was a very difficult thing, considering the English fleet was then at sea. He found means, however, to pass by them, and arrived safely before Bergen, where the Dutch had found a new enemy in their old defender. The Danish governor modestly desired a hundred thousand crowns for the assistance he had given them in the late affair; and threatened to sink them without ceremony, if they offered to stir out of the port before they had complied with his demand. The arrival of the fleet made him change his language: he was content they should sail then without paying the money; but in order to have somewhat towards it, he kept the cannon they had put ashore. †

Thus far De Witte was very successful; but in his return home, the fleet was scattered by a storm, in which were lost two fire-ships, and some of the merchantmen. The vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the East India fleet, ships of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five English frigates, which the same storm had separated from our fleet; and soon after, four of their men-of-war, two fire-ships, and thirty merchantmen, joined our fleet instead of their own, and by this mistake were all taken; which ended the operations of this year. ‡

The French perceiving that the scales were no longer even, but that the Dutch would certainly be destroyed, if

* Wicquefort *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, lib. xv. The Dutch term in the maps was *Spanjards Gat*, now they call it, *Heer De Witte's Diep*.

† Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 747. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. xiv.

‡ Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 38. *Annals of the Universe*, p. 119. *Gesta Britannorum*, p. 511. *Lettres, Memoires, &c. du Comte d'Estrades*, tom. ii. p. 364. *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 361.

left entirely to themselves; or, which they more apprehended, would be forced to make such a peace as we should prescribe, resolved to declare in their favour. It may not be amiss, in order to shew what sort of an enemy this court has always been, to observe, that immediately upon this declaration, she began to cabal with our republicans, and actually endeavoured to draw General Ludlow from his retreat, that she might send him over to head their friends, as they now called them, on this side the water. By the persuasion of France, the king of Denmark, who had concurred with us in the business of Bergen, and the elector of Brandenburg declared also for the Dutch; but the former was well paid for it, since the States forgave him a debt of six millions of guilders, and undertook to pay him an annual subsidy of one million and a half more, so long as the war should last. *

It quickly appeared, that France, by taking this measure, meant to make herself at once a maritime power; for having promised to assist the Dutch with a fleet of six and thirty men-of-war, they were thus made up. Twelve were built by Dutch carpenters, in the Dutch docks; twelve more were made out of large Indiamen, purchased in the same country; and the other twelve were either built or bought in the ports of Denmark. Besides this, the French minister, the Count d'Estrades, insisted upon the delivering up two East India ships, of which the Dutch had made prizes; and wrested from them many other concessions, to purchase his master's declaration in their favour, agreeably to his secret treaty in *anno* 1662; which was the genuine source of this war, and a long train of miseries with which this state was afflicted. †

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 549. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 85, 86. Annals of the Universe, p. 149. Memoires du Comte d'Estrades. tom. ii. p. 318, 502, 525. tom. iii. p. 29, 30, 53, 64. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. i. p. 58, 59.

† Lettres d'Estrades, tom. ii. Basnage, tom. i. p. 770, 771. Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 102, where it appears the French meditated the

When all this was done, the French were for setting on foot a negociation; but King Charles being then in the true interest of his subjects, was, at least, to them, very deaf on that ear. He said, the Dutch had injured England to the amount of two millions; and if they thought fit to pay so much money, he was willing to grant them a peace without any mediation at all. Nay, the king carried it still higher; for he declared, in case he made such a peace with the Dutch, their allies should be left out of it; which, considering the strength of the confederacy, and that the plague then raged in England; seems to prove that this prince did not want spirit enough, when his own good sense told him he was engaged in a right cause; for, at that time, we had not a single ally, but the martial and mercenary bishop of Munster; who, though he gave the Dutch a great deal of trouble, yet did it entirely at our expense.*

The next year opened a new scene; the king recalled his ambassador, Lord Holles, from the French court, and sent the earl of Sandwich in that quality to Spain: two of the wisest steps in his whole reign; for, by the first, he broke entirely, for this time, at least, with that perfidious court; and, in consequence of the second, he concluded the most beneficial treaty of commerce, that was ever made for this nation.† As to naval affairs it was resolved, that the fleet should be commanded by Prince Rupert, and

surprise of two of the seven provinces by the troops said to march for their assistance.

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 544. *Gesta Britannorum*, p. 511. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. i. p. 1, 34, 35, 36, 81. Echard's History of England, p. 828. *Lettres, Memoires, &c. du Comte d'Estrades*, tom. ii. p. 390, 406, 408, 415. Letters of Sir William Temple, in his works, vol. ii. p. 4.

† Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 545. *Annals of the Universe*, p. 137, 139. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. i. p. 62, 63, 75. vol. ii. p. 173. *Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades*, tom. iii. p. 231. *Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit de Gens*, tom. vii. part i. p. 27.

the duke of Albemarle; the former, to look after the French, who began to talk very high; and the latter, to act against the Dutch. *

Before we speak of the consequences of these capital undertakings, it may not be amiss to take some notice of an incident which happened at Lisbon, because it shews the gallant spirit of that age. There were in that port a considerable number of English merchantmen, which were to come home under the convoy of the Guinea frigate. A large French man-of-war was also there, and the captain daily boasted to the Portuguese what he would do when the English frigate put to sea. This coming to the ears of Captain Coite, who commanded her, he sent the Frenchman word he would sail the next morning, which he performed accordingly; but having hovered on the coast three days, in expectation of being chased, he returned into port, carried out his fleet of merchantmen, and brought them safe into the river Thames, the Frenchman continuing, all the while, quiet in the harbour of Lisbon. †

Prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet on the 23d of April, 1666, and sailed with it in the beginning of May. Toward the latter end of that month, the court was informed, that the French fleet, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the assistance of the Dutch. But this rumour of their joining the Dutch, was spread by the court of France, in order to deceive us, and distress the Dutch; themselves in reality having no such intention. Upon receiving this news, the court sent positive orders to prince Rupert to sail with the white squadron to look out for, and fight the French; which command that brave prince obeyed; but found it, what many wise people before thought it, a mere

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* Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 424. The Historian's Guide, p. 57. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 39.

† Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 550.

gasconade, intended to hurt us, and to raise the courage of their new allies, in order to bring them into still greater dangers. *

At the same time that prince Rupert sailed from the Downs, the Dutch with their whole force put to sea, the wind at north-east, and having a fresh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coasts of Dunkirk, and carried away his highness toward the Isle of Wight; but the wind suddenly shifting to the south-west, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the duke of Albemarle with his two squadrons to an anchor. Captain Bacon in the Bristol first discovered the enemy; and, by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the English fleet. Upon this a council of war was called; wherein, without much debate, it was resolved to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their great superiority. †

A.D. 1666. After the departure of prince Rupert, the duke of Albemarle had with him only sixty sail; whereas the Dutch fleet consisted of ninety-one men of war, carrying four thousand seven hundred and sixteen guns, and twenty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two men. It was the first of June when they were discerned, and the duke was so warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor; and, as De Ruyter himself says in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and, in the same letter, he also owns, that, to the

* Skinner's Continuation of Bates, part iii. p. 86. Bishop Parker's History of his own Time, p. 101. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 427. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 175, 178, 180, 183, 194. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 39. Lettres et Mem. du Comte d'Estrades, tom. iii. p. 78, 113, 129, 135.

† Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 428. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 39. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 772. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 13. Leevens der Zeehelden Tweede Deel, p. 207. Sir John Harman's account of this engagement.

last, the English were the aggressors, notwithstanding their inferiority and other disadvantages. The English fleet had the weather-gage, but the wind bowed their ships so much, that they could not use their lowest tier. Sir William Berkley's squadron led the van. The duke of Albemarle, when he came on the coast of Dunkirk, to avoid running full on a sand, made a sudden tack, and this brought his top-mast by the board, which compelled him to lie by four or five hours, till another could be set up. The blue squadron knowing nothing of this, sailed on, charging through the Dutch fleet, though they were five to one. *

In this engagement fell the brave Sir William Berkley, and his ship, the *Swiftsure*, a second rate, was taken; so was the *Essex*, a third rate; and Sir John Harman, in the *Henry*, had the whole Zealand squadron to deal with. His ship being disabled, the Dutch admiral Cornelius Evertz, called to Sir John, and offered him quarter, who answered, "No, Sir! it is not come to that yet;" and immediately discharged a broadside, by which Evertz was killed, and several of his ships damaged; which so discouraged their captains, that they quitted the *Henry*, and sent three fire-ships to burn her. The first grappled on her starboard quarters, and there began to raise so thick a smoke, that it was impossible to perceive where the irons were fixed. At last, when the ship began to blaze, the boatswain of the *Henry* threw himself on board, and having, by its own light, discovered and removed the grappling irons, in the same instant jumped back on board his own ship. He had scarcely done this, before another fire ship was fixed on the larboard, which did its business so effectually, that the sails being quickly on

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* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 550. Bishop Parker's History of his own Time, p. 101. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 87. Annals of the Universe, p. 139. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 773. La Vie De Ruyter, p. 200.

fire, frightened the chaplain and fifty men overboard. Upon this, Sir John drew his sword, and threatened to kill any man who should attempt to provide for his own safety by leaving the ship. This obliged them to endeavour to put out the fire, which in a short time they did; but the cordage being burnt, the cross-beam fell and broke Sir John's leg, at which instant the third fire-ship bore down; but four pieces of cannon loaded with chain-shot disabled her: so that, after all, Sir John brought his ship into Harwich, where he repaired her as well as he could; and, notwithstanding his broken leg, put to sea again to seek the Dutch. The battle ended on the first day about ten in the evening. *

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The following night was spent in repairing the damage suffered on both sides, and next morning, the attack was renewed by the English with fresh vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with Vice-admiral Vander Hulst, being on board one ship, rashly engaged it among the English, and their vessel was in the utmost danger of being either taken or burnt. The Dutch affairs, according to their own account, were now in a desperate condition; but Admiral De Ruyter at last disengaged them, though not till his ship was disabled, and Vice-admiral Dander Hulst killed. This only changed the scene; for De Ruyter was now as hard pressed as Tromp had been before. However, a reinforcement arriving preserved him also; and so the second day's fight ended earlier than the first. †

* These circumstances are taken from Sir John Harman's relation, who blames the duke's eagerness for fighting, and mentions his own affairs only to shew, how hard the English were put to it. As to the matters of fact in this account, they are confirmed by all the Dutch authors.

† Skinner's *Life of General Monk*, p. 342. Kennet's *Complete History of England*, vol. iii. p. 281. Echard's *History of England*, p. 830. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. 14. *Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades*, tom. iii. p. 268. *Memoires du Comte du Guiche*, p. 235. *Neuveille Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. p. 275.

The third day, the duke of Albemarle, found it necessary to retreat; and he performed it with wonderful courage and conduct. He first burnt three ships that were absolutely disabled: he next caused such as were most torn to sail before; and, with twenty-eight men of war that were in a pretty good condition, brought up the rear.* Sir John Harman, indeed, says he had but sixteen ships that were able to fight.† Yet, in the evening, his grace, discovering the white squadron coming to his assistance, resolved to engage the enemy again. In joining prince Rupert, a very unlucky accident happened; for Sir George Ayscue, who was on board the Royal Prince, the largest and heaviest ship in the whole fleet, ran upon the Galloper; and being there in danger of burning, and out of all hopes of relief, was forced to surrender; and night then falling, ended this day's engagement.‡

On the 4th of June, the Dutch, who were still considerably stronger than the English, were almost out of sight; but the duke of Albemarle, having prevailed on the prince to follow them, about eight in the morning they engaged again, and the English fleet charged five times through the Dutch; till prince Rupert's ship being disabled, and that of the duke of Albemarle very roughly handled; about seven in the evening the fleets separated, each side being willing enough to retire. In this day's engagement fell that gallant admiral Sir Christopher

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* See an extract from the journal book of a principal flag-officer in this battle, in Gumble's *Life of General Monk*, p. 430. Skinner's *Continuation of Bates*, p. 89. Philips's *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 551.

† In his narration, an extract of which may be found in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 281.

‡ Parker's *History of his own Time*, p. 102. Skinner's *Life of General Monk*, p. 345. Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 41. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 776. *Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades*, tom. iii. p. 269.

Myngs,* who having a shot in the neck, remained upon deck, and gave orders, keeping the blood from flowing, with his fingers, above an hour, till another shot pierced his throat, and put an end to his pain.†

This was the most terrible battle fought in this, or perhaps in any other war, as the Dutch admirals themselves say; and the pensioner De Witte, who was no flatterer of our nation, yet too quick a man not to discern, and of too great a spirit to conceal the truth; said roundly upon this occasion, “If the English were beaten, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; their own fleet could never have been brought on after the first day’s fight, and he believed none but theirs could; and all the Dutch had discovered was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt; but that the English courage was invincible.”‡ Of this panegyric it is hard to determine, whether it does more honour to him who made it, or to the English nation.

After all, it is by no means easy to say who were victors upon the whole, or what was the loss of the vanquished. Some Dutch writers talk of thirty-five ships, and between five and six thousand men lost by the English; which is more than half their fleet, and very little less than all their seamen. Their best his-

* Dr. Campbell is not correct in the name of this gallant officer. He calls him *Minnes*; whereas from a communication which I have received from a lady, who is one of his descendants, I find that his name was as I have inserted it above. In my supplementary volume will be found some anecdotes of the admiral, never before published. H. R. Y.

† Philips’s Continuation of Heath’s Chronicle, p. 551. Echard’s History of England, p. 830. A true Narrative of the Engagement between his Majesty’s Fleet and that of Holland, begun June 1, 1666, at two o’clock in the afternoon, and continuing till the 4th at ten o’clock at night. Published by command. London, printed by Thomas Newcomb, 1666, fol.

‡ Wiequefort Histoire des Provinces Unies, liv. xv.

torians, however, compute our loss at sixteen men of war, of which ten were sunk, and six taken. Our writers say, the Dutch lost fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five thousand men: they themselves own the loss of nine ships, and that there was a most prodigious slaughter of their seamen.*

The duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his rashness,† and great contempt of the Dutch. It seems he was of the same sentiment with Blake, and thought that fighting was, almost on any terms, preferable to running away, in a nation which pretends to the dominion of the sea; and whoever shall consider the reputation we still retain from the glorious spirit of these intrepid men, will scarcely think it reasonable to hazard his own character by attacking theirs. It is enough that we live in cooler times, when men may be considered as heroes upon moderate terms: let us, therefore, content ourselves with justifying our own conduct, without censuring that of others, while in the same breath, we confess that it is no easy thing to imitate it.

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 778, 779. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. chap. 13. See De Ruyter's Letters to the States; the Dutch, French, and English Accounts of this battle; and Sir George Ayscue's Letter to the King, dated from the Castle of Lovestein, June 20, 1666, in *la Vie de Ruyter*, p. 290—350. The Count d'Estrades, in his letter to the king, of the 17th of June, says, the Dutch took eleven large ships, and burnt or sunk ten; that the white squadron was totally destroyed, Sir George Ayscue made prisoner, and his ship burnt; that the vice-admiral, commanded by Berkley, governor of Portsmouth, of seventy guns, was brought into the Maese, with five others of the like force; that three thousand men perished, and as many were made prisoners. In his letter of July 1, he says, De Witte told the states, that the English had lost twenty-four ships, and nine or ten thousand men; and that eighteen ships were so disabled, that they would not be fit for service in a long time. See his letter also of the eighth of the same month.

† Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 41. Gumble's *Life of Monk*, p. 433, 435. Skinner's *Life of Monk*, p. 352.

The Dutch had once more the credit of appearing at sea before the English, their ships having in these engagements suffered less. They first affected to brave us on our own coasts; and next to go in search of their French allies, who certainly never meant to afford them any real assistance. It was not long before the English appeared. The fleet consisted of eighty men of war, great and small, and nineteen fire-ships, divided into three squadrons: the red, under Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, who were on board the same ship; Sir Joseph Jordan, their vice-admiral, and Sir Robert Holmes, their rear-admiral. Sir Thomas Allen was admiral of the white, and had under him Sir Thomas Tyddiman, and Rear-admiral Utburt. Sir Jeremiah Smith carried the blue flag, and his officers were Sir Edward Spragge and Rear-admiral Kempthorne.* The Dutch, according to their own accounts, had eighty-eight men of war, and twenty fire-ships, divided also into three squadrons, under Lieutenant-admiral De Ruyter, John Evertz, brother to the admiral who was killed in the former engagement, and Van Tromp.†

On the 25th of July, about noon, the English came up with the enemy off the North Foreland. Sir Thomas Allen, with the white squadron, began the battle by attacking Evertz. Prince Rupert and the duke, about one in the afternoon, made a desperate attack upon De Ruyter, whose squadron was in the centre of the Dutch fleet; and, after fighting about three hours, were obliged to go on

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 551. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 91. Annals of the Universe, p. 140. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. i. p. 87, 88. vol. ii. p. 181.

† Brandt Leeven Van De Ruyter, p. 507. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 781. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 13. Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades, tom. iii. p. 289, 297. La Vie De Ruyter, p. 358.

board another ship. In this interim, the white squadron had entirely defeated their enemies, Admiral John Evertz, his Vice-admiral De Vries, and his Rear-admiral Koeners, being all killed; the vice-admiral of Zealand taken; and another ship of fifty guns burnt. The prince and duke fought De Ruyter ship to ship; disabled the Guelderland, of sixty-six guns, which was one of his seconds; killed the captain of another; and mortally wounded two more; upon which the Dutch squadron began to fly. * However, Vice-admiral Van Nes stood bravely by De Ruyter, and his ship received great damage; yet, being at last deserted by all but seven ships, they yielded to necessity, and followed the rest of their fleet as fast as they could.

Admiral De Ruyter's ship was so miserably torn, and his crew so dispirited and fatigued, that he could have made but little resistance; and nothing but the want of wind hindered the English from boarding him. As for Admiral Van Tromp, he was engaged with Sir Jeremiah Smith, and the blue squadron at a distance, and so could not assist his friends. As his was the strongest squadron of the Dutch fleet, and Smith's the weakest of the English, we had no great advantage on that side; yet some we had, his vice-admiral's ship being disabled, and his rear-admiral killed; which, however, did not hinder his fighting it out with much bravery as long as there was any light. †

* Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 754. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 439. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 92. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 182. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 281. Echard's History of England, p. 831; and other historians. Miscellanea Aulica, p. 412.

† Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 783. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 14. La Vie De Ruyter, p. 361. Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades, tom. iii. p. 336. Memoires du Comte De Guiche, liv. ii. p. 276.

Admiral De Ruyter continued his retreat that night, and the next day Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle pursued him, with part of the red squadron, with as much vigour as the wind would permit. A fire-ship bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and missed very little of setting him on fire. They then cannonaded again, when De Ruyter found himself so hard pressed, and his fleet in such imminent danger, that in a fit of despair he cried out, "My God, what a wretch am I! among so many thousand bullets, is not there one to put me out of my pain?" By degrees, however, he drew near their own shallow coast, where the English could not follow him. Upon this occasion, Prince Rupert insulted the Dutch admiral, by sending a little shallop called the *Fanfan*, with two small guns on board, which, being by force of oars brought near De Ruyter's vessel, fired upon him for two hours together; but at last a ball from the Dutch admiral so damaged this contemptible enemy, that the crew were forced to row, and that briskly, to save their lives. The enemy being driven over the flats into the *wielings*, the English went to lay at Schonevelt, the usual rendezvous of the Dutch fleets. *

This was the clearest victory gained during the whole war; the Dutch were miserably beaten, and their two great admirals De Ruyter and Tromp, had nothing to do but to lay the blame on each other, which they did with all the aggravating circumstances they could devise. † In this battle the Dutch lost twenty ships; four admirals

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 783. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. chap. 14. *La Vie De Ruyter*, p. 368, 369. Skinner's *Life of General Monk*, p. 359.

† Basnage and the other Dutch historians, speak largely of this quarrel. See Tromp's letter to the States-General, dated August 13, 1666, in *La Vie De Ruyter*, p. 376. See the letter of the Count d'Estrades to the king, dated August 12, 1666, in *Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades*, tom. iii. p. 345. *Memoires du Comte de Guiche*, liv. ii. p. 278.

killed, and a great many captains; as to private men, there might be about four thousand slain, and three thousand wounded. The English had only the Resolution burnt, three captains killed, and about three hundred private men.

Upon this occasion it appeared, of how little service it is to spread false rumours among the populace. The Dutch people had been assured, that the last battle had entirely ruined the naval strength of England; and that their fleet, when it sailed out, was gone to destroy the coasting trade, and to insult the sea-ports of our island. When, therefore, in the space of six weeks, they saw the reverse of this; their own countrymen flying; the English navy stationed on their shore; and their whole commerce at a stand; their fury is not to be expressed. They reproached their governors not only with want of courage and fortune, but also with being deficient in point of probity; and with endeavouring to impose upon a nation they could not protect. Their rage, furious as it was, received no small increase from a new misfortune, heavier in itself, and more shameful in its nature, than any they had ever sustained; yet whether so honourable to the English as some have represented it, I will not take upon me to determine; but leave it to the decision of the candid reader, when he shall have read the best account of the matter I am able to give.*

* The Dutch ministers, who in those times preached as if they had the rolls of destiny lying open before them, affirmed the fire of London, which happened the September following, to be a judgment from heaven for this action. Some of our own writers are very angry with it, and with Sir Robert Holmes for performing it; but this is quite absurd, since he acted in consequence of the resolution of a council of war, and is therefore commendable in this respect, whatever may be thought of his orders, or his conduct in other things. Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 553. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 93. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 441. Annals of the Universe, p. 142. Kennet, vol. iii.

On the 29th of July, the English fleet weighed anchor, and steered their course for the Ulie; but the wind being contrary, they did not make the island till the 7th of August. Being then come to anchor, Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle received intelligence, that, notwithstanding there were very rich magazines on the islands, and a large fleet of merchantmen lying between them, yet Ulie and Schelling were very indifferently guarded; upon which it was resolved to attack them without delay. *

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Upon this, a council of flag-officers was called, in order to make the necessary dispositions for this great attempt. There it was resolved, that three hundred men should be drawn out of each squadron, two thirds land and one third seamen, under nine captains; and the whole to be executed under the direction of Sir Robert Holmes, rear-admiral of the red, with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in case it was found expedient to attack both islands at the same time, was to command one division. The ships appointed for this enterprize were five fourth, three fifth-rates, five fire-ships, and seven ketches, as Sir Robert Holmes tells us, in his relation of the affair. †

On the 9th of August, about seven in the morning, this squadron weighed, divided from the rest of the fleet, and came to anchor about a league from the Buoys; where they met the prince's pleasure-boat, called the

Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 528. Echard's History of England, p. 831. Burchet's Naval History, p. 400.

* The Ulie is an island from which the Dutch fleets usually sail to the Baltic; it has the Texel on the south, and Schelling on the north.

† I take this from the account by authority, entitled, "A True and Perfect Narrative of the great Success of a part of his Majesty's Fleet, by their burning one hundred and sixty Dutch ships, within the Ulie." Of this there is an extract in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 282. See also Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 361. Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 754. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 188.

Fanfan, the crew of which had discovered in the harbour a considerable fleet of ships near the Ulie; which proved to be one hundred and seventy merchant ships, the least of which was not of less than two hundred tons burden, with two men-of-war, which had lately conveyed home near one hundred of those ships from the northward, some from the Straits, some from Guinea, some from Russia, some from the east countries; the rest were outward-bound ships, all of which likewise were very richly laden.*

Sir Robert Holmes, considering that if he should proceed, as his design was, first to attempt a descent on the land, that numerous fleet might possibly pour in such numbers of men, as might render the success hazardous, resolved to begin with the ships; and accordingly, having ordered the Advice and the Hampshire to lay without the Buoys, he weighed with the rest of his fleet; and, the wind being contrary, he turned with much ado into Schelling road, where the Tyger came to anchor, and immediately Sir Robert went on board the Fanfan, and hoisted his flag; upon which the officers came on board him, and there it was ordered, that the Pembroke, which drew the least water, with the five fire-ships, should fall in among the enemy's fleet with what speed they could.

Captain Brown, with his fire-ship, chose very bravely to lay the biggest man-of-war on board, and burnt the vessel downright. Another fire-ship running up at the same time to the other man-of-war, the captain, backing his sails, escaped the present execution of the fire-ship, but so as to run the ship on ground, where it was presently taken by some of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ships clapped the three great merchantmen on board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confusion; which Sir Robert

* If the reader considers the number, the burden, and the trade, in which these ships were employed, he will easily discern the credit due to the subsequent account of damages.

Holmes perceiving, made a signal for all the officers to come on board again ; and presently gave orders, that Sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be spared, should take the advantage, and fall in, sink, burn, and destroy all they could ; but with a strict command, that they should not plunder. The execution was so well followed, each captain destroying his share, some twelve, some fifteen merchantmen ; that, of the whole fleet, there escaped not above eight or nine ships, one of which was a Guineaman of twenty-four guns, and three small privateers ; these ships, being driven up into a narrower corner of the stream, served to protect four or five merchantmen that were a-head of them, where it was not possible for our boats to come at them, though even these few were much damaged. *

The next day, being the 10th, it was found more expedient to land on the island of Schelling than upon that of Ulie, which was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven companies in his long-boats ; and he disembarked with little or no opposition. When he came on shore, he left one company to secure his boat, and with the other ten, marched three miles farther up into the country to the capital town, called Bandaris, in which there were upwards of one thousand very good houses ; where, keeping five companies upon the skirts of the town, to prevent any surprize from the enemy, he sent the other five to set fire to the place ; but finding them somewhat slow in executing that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themselves in order to pillage ; he was himself forced to set fire to some houses to the windward, the sooner to dispatch the work, and hasten his men away, which burnt

* This account agrees very well with what is said on the same subject by the Dutch writers, who speak with horror of this action, the town being inhabited by Mennonites, a sort of Dutch Quakers, who hold the use of arms repugnant to the Christian principle, and are an honest, harmless, industrious kind of people.

with such violence, that, in half an hour's time, most part of the town was in a bright flame. This place was reported, by those that were found in it, to have been very rich, and so it appeared by some of the soldiers pockets; but very few people were to be seen there, having had time to escape from the danger, except some old men and women, who were used by the English, after they fell into their hands, with all possible gentleness and humanity. *

This blow, and that, too, in many respects, greatly affected the Dutch; who, according to their own accounts, suffered, by burning the town and magazines, the loss of nearly six millions of guilders; and, if we take the ships and their rich cargoes into this computation, they confess that they were losers to the amount of eleven millions, or one million, one hundred thousand pounds sterling. We need not wonder that this wound cut very deep, and engaged the States to use their utmost diligence in fitting out a new fleet. †

But, before we come to this expedition, it may not be amiss to introduce a passage, which hitherto has not found a place in our history. The destroying the Dutch ships, and the burning the town of Bandaris, though done by Englishmen, was no English project. One Captain Heemskerck, a Dutchman, who fled for fear of his being called to an account for misbehaviour under Opdam, was the author

* The damage done by burning of the town of Bandaris is somewhat lessened in the detail given by M. De Neuville in his *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. p. 287.

† Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 784. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 151, 152. Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades, tom. iii. p. 360, who says the English burnt one hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, and a village on the coast, and that the whole loss was computed at six millions. *Memoires du Comte de Guiche*, liv. ii. p. 281. Some writers make the loss sustained by the Dutch still more, viz. twelve million guilders, or one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling. Lediard's *Naval History*, p. 387. Rapin diminishes the loss, and the number of ships.

of that dismal scene. After the return of the fleet, he was one day at court, and boasting, in the hearing of King Charles II. of the bloody revenge he had taken upon his country; that monarch, with a stern countenance, bid him withdraw, and never presume to appear again in his presence. He sent him, however, a very considerable sum of money for the service, with which he retired to Venice. This instance of magnanimity in that generous prince has been long and highly applauded by the Dutch; * why should it be any longer unknown to the English?

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As soon as the fleet was ready, the command was bestowed on Michael De Ruyter, Tromp having at that time, in consequence of his dispute with De Ruyter, laid down his commission. This navy consisted of seventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-seven fire-ships. † The first design they had was to join the French squadron, which Louis XIV. had promised to fit out for their assistance; in this they were most egregiously disappointed; and after a dangerous navigation, in which they were more than once chased by a superior English fleet, they were glad to return; though fired with indignation at such usage, which, it is said, wrought so powerfully on the mind of the gallant De Ruyter, as to throw him into a fit of sickness. ‡

When the French thought the coast was become pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but Sir Thomas Allen attacking them with his squadron, boarded the Rubys, a fine ship of a thousand tons and fifty-four guns, and

* Vie de l'Admiral De Ruyter, partie i. p. 373, 374.

† Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 785. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 14. La Vie De Ruyter, p. 419. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 283. Echard, and other writers.

‡ The Dutch writers differ much from the English in respect of these particulars, but their accounts are inconsistent with each other. Besides, if they were superiour at sea, how came they not to join the French?

carrying her in a short time, * it so discouraged the French ministry, that they scarcely trusted their navy afterwards out of sight of their own shore. † But, in the mean time, to convince the English that they were determined enemies, though they did not like fighting, they had recourse to a stratagem; or, to call the thing by its proper name, they set on foot a dirty conspiracy for seizing the island of Guernsey. In pursuit of this fine scheme, they sent a gentleman, who was governor of one of the fortresses upon their own coasts, to negotiate with Major-General Lambert, an old republican, who was prisoner in the island. But the general, it seems, preferred any government to a French one, and therefore, having made a free discovery of these politicians, they were taken and hanged for spies. ‡ This, methinks, is sufficient to shew, that both courts were enough in earnest; which, however, is a fact some people then, and not a few historians now, pretend to doubt.

By the end of the year 1666, all parties began to grow weary of this war; which was certainly, directly, and, at the same time equally, opposite to the welfare both of Britain and Holland; and may, therefore, be justly referred to the arts of France, and the very peculiar situation of the grand pensionary of Holland, M. De Witte; a man not more fortunate in his abilities, than unhappy in the application of them. A man who understood the interests of his country thoroughly, and, in his own nature, was certainly inclined to promote them; but having been engaged from his birth in the designs of a faction bent to ruin the authority, interest, and credit of the house of Orange; he came, on account of his royal highness's near

* Letters to Sir William Temple, in his works, vol. ii. p. 131. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 283. Burchet's Naval History, p. 400.

† Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades, tom. iii. p. 425, 450. Memoires du Comte de Guiche, liv. ii. p. 295.

‡ Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 554. Miscellanea Aulica, p. 407. Echard's History of England, p. 833.

relation to it, to have an inveteracy against the English court, which grew so much the more vehement, the less cause there was for it. *

He had plunged his country into this war chiefly to gratify his own humour, and to pin himself effectually on France; and now, when his countrymen were almost unanimously desirous of peace, the overtures for which were well received, and readily complied with in England; he contrived in his own mind such an extraordinary method of making war, as he thought would effectually raise the reputation of his family; and, at the same time, cut off the head of a very honest gentleman, who, at the request and by the consent of the States, had carried on a correspondence in England for facilitating a peace. †

The king of Sweden having offered his mediation, it was readily accepted on both sides. On the one hand, the plague, the fire of London, and other national misfortunes, particularly the restlessness of factions, mischief from which we are very seldom long free, engaged King Charles to be very earnest as well as sincere in his desires of a peace. The Dutch, on the other hand, needed it; they were drawn into the war to serve the purposes of their ministry, and many arts had been practised to keep them in it, though it was equally against their interests

* See his character in d'Estrade's *Negotiations*, as well as in Basnage, and Le Clerc, who is his apologist at least, if not his panegyrist; yet he confesses, that this statesman had never travelled, and was little versed in the history, politics, or interests of other countries. He was a man inflexible, but not infallible.

† The matter is very fairly stated in Basnage's *Annals*, tom. i. p. 787, but Mr. De Neuville treats M. Buat, who suffered on this occasion, as a downright traitor, though he owns he had formerly served his country with equal integrity and courage. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 153. *Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades*, tom. iii. p. 351, 359, 365, 449, 451. *Memoires du Comte de Guiche*, liv. ii. p. 283. *Life of the earl of Clarendon*, vol. iii. p. 629. *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 415.

and their inclinations. Now, therefore, when France found pacific measures expedient, or rather was convinced that carrying the war on would serve only to raise the reputation of England, and to obscure their own, as well as ruin the Dutch; a treaty was set on foot at Breda, not only at the desire of the States, but by their express appointment both of time and place; in which they were indulged by King Charles, purely to shew the sincerity of his resolution. While this treaty was thus negotiating, De Witte was resolved to put in practice his base project; which, though executed with success, and esteemed glorious for a moment; yet, in the end, proved fatal to his country, and more especially so to himself and his brother; who, to shew how much it was their own, had the immediate conduct and execution of it. *

When the pensionary John De Witte was last on board the Dutch fleet, and, in the absence of the English navy, had cruized upon our coast; he took an opportunity of sending several persons to sound the mouth of the river Thames, in order to discover how far it might be practicable to make any attempt therein with large ships; and having by this means found, with what facility the project

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 804. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. 14. *Wicquefort Neuville Hist. de Hollande*, tom. iii. p. 294. *Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades*, tom. iii. p. 469, 471, 483, 487. See also tom. iv. King Charles acquainted the Swedish ambassadors, that he would not treat with the States, unless they sent a proper person to London with propositions; made, at his request, a suitable provision for his nephew the prince of Orange; and agreed to a proper regulation of the trade to the Indies; that he expected damages for the great losses suffered by the war; an acknowledgment for the herring-fishing on his coasts, the nets being dragged on his shore; that he demanded no towns for caution, but insisted on the guarantee of the emperor and other princes. See also *Memoires du Comte de Guiche*, liv. ii. and iii. *Phillips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 560. *Lord Arlington's Letters*, p. 213, 215, 221. *Bishop Parker's History of his own Time*, p. 123.

he had formed might be executed, he resolved to proceed in it, notwithstanding the negotiations for peace were then far advanced. He at first opened himself to the Count d'Estrades, the French ambassador; who communicated the design to his court, where it met with the utmost approbation, and where measures were taken for rendering it effectual in its execution.*

To this end it was necessary King Charles should be persuaded that there was no necessity of fitting out a fleet for this year; since that would have rendered the design of the Dutch statesman not only difficult and dangerous, but absolutely impracticable.† With a view to this, the queen-mother, whose advices were always fatal to this nation, was persuaded to write her son a letter, wherein she informed him, that his most Christian Majesty, and the States-General, had turned their thoughts entirely toward peace; and that it might have ill effects, if his majesty, by fitting out a great fleet, should alarm them on their own coasts, as in the preceding year. This advice, supported by the intrigues of the earl of St. Albans, and agreeing with the king's temper and circumstances; whose ministers deceived, whose mistresses beggared, and whose courtiers plundered him; against whose measures a party

* *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. 14. p. 193, 194. *Secrete Resol. Van Haer Hoog. Mog Saterdagh*, 19 Martii, p. 522. *Valkenier's Verwerd Europa*, p. 73. *La Vie De Ruyter*, 449, 454. *Neuville Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. p. 296. *Memoires du Comte de Guiche*, liv. iii. p. 389. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 191.

† Count d'Estrades, who was the great confidant of the pensionary, and to whom the best Dutch writers allow he imparted many secrets of their state, very improper for any foreigner, and much more a French minister, to be acquainted with; tells the king his master plainly, that De Witte hated the peace; 1. Because it would make him less necessary, and so lessen his authority; 2. Because it would be favourable to the interests of the House of Orange; 3. Because he had, though with no ill intention, done many things contrary to the constitution, for which, in a time of peace, he might be very easily called to an account.

was formed, many of whom, notwithstanding their vehement professions of patriotism, in reality meant little more than places and preferments; we need not wonder he fell so readily into it; for meanly covetous, and squandering needy princes, are alike liable to the greatest foible in governing; the preferring present gain to any future prospect whatever. Notwithstanding, therefore, his naval magazines were never better provided, King Charles, by a strange fatality, ordered only two small squadrons for the summer service, in 1667. *

Things being thus in a readiness, the last resolution was taken in Holland for the immediate execution of pensionary De Witte's project; and this resolution was signed by the French minister, as well as by the deputies of the States. His most Christian Majesty had promised that a squadron of his ships, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, should assist therein. However, that the issue of the thing might irritate the English against the Dutch only, the French, as usual, waved the performance of their promise; when the matter, however, was so far advanced, that the Dutch found it impossible for them to go back. Yet the English ministers were treating all this time at Breda; where, from the beginning, there was a fair appearance of speedily concluding a peace. †

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 560. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 97, 98. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 50. Burchet's Naval History, p. 297. Miscellanea Aulica, p. 394, 395. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. i. p. 106, 117, 131, 139, 145. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 287. Echard, p. 838. Memoires d'Estrades, tom. iii. p. 393, 483, 521.

† In this the historians of both nations agree. One would wonder how, after duly considering this fact, any writer can assert, as Dutch historians do, that De Witte's expedition was necessary to the making of the peace. King Charles had yielded to a treaty at the request of the Dutch; he had left the manner of negotiating it to them; he had disarmed his victorious fleet. What signs, beyond these, could he shew of inclining to peace? but it was plainly calculated to frustrate

The pretence made use of by John De Witte, for fitting out a fleet in the spring, was the mischief which had been done to their navigation by the privateers from Scotland. In order to check these, Admiral Van Ghent was sent with a considerable fleet into the Frith, with orders to burn the coasts, and recover such ships as were in those ports. He appeared before Leith on the 1st of May, and might, if he had thought fit, have done a great deal of mischief; but he contented himself with cannonading Burntisland to very little purpose. When the English court received the news of this proceeding, it confirmed them in their opinion, that there would be no fighting that year; and that this expedition was purely to quiet the minds of the people enough disturbed by their late losses. This shews the great folly of trusting an enemy, and ought to be a warning to all British statesmen for the future. If the king at this time had pawned the jewels of the crown, or the crown itself, as some of his predecessors did, to pay his seamen, and put a strong fleet to sea, he had turned the tables, made a good peace, and passed the remainder of his reign in quiet.

But pensionary De Witte, in the mean time, had hastily manned out a large fleet, under the command of De Ruyter, on board which he intended to have gone in person; but the French protested against this step, and therefore he was at last contented to send Cornelius De Witte, his brother. Care had been taken to provide some of the old republican officers to command the troops which were to make a descent; and these also easily procured pilots to conduct the Dutch into our rivers and ports. So wild a thing is faction, which, though always covered with fair pretences of love for the public, will yet lead such as are deluded thereby to the most flagitious actions, and

the very ends of peace, by leaving a rancour in the minds of both nations; and this effect it had.

such as visibly tend to destroy, what, by their own principles, they should most vigorously defend.*

The fleet being ready, sailed over to the English coast, where it was joined by Van Ghent, and consisted then of seventy men-of-war, besides fire-ships. On the 7th of June they attacked Sheerness, which was at that time unfinished, and in no state of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a considerable quantity of naval stores. Though the court had scarcely any warning of this attempt, yet the duke of Albemarle, Sir Edward Spragge, and other great officers, had made all imaginable provision for the defence of the river Medway, by sinking ships in the passage, throwing a chain across it, and placing three large vessels, which had been taken from the Dutch in this war, behind the chain. The Dutch had the advantage of a strong easterly wind, which encouraged them to endeavour burning our ships at Chatham, in spite of all these precautions so well and wisely taken to preserve them. It was on the 12th they executed this design; which at last, however, had miscarried, if one Captain Brakell, who was a prisoner on board their fleet for some misdemeanour, had not offered, to wipe out the memory of his former mistake, to undertake breaking the chain, which he gallantly performed.†

He also with great bravery boarded and took one of the English frigates which guarded the passage; soon after, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth, being

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 560. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. i. p. 167. Annals of the Universe, p. 157. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 197. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 804. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv. p. 194. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 17. Memoires du Comte de Guiche, liv. iii.

† I take these facts from the several accounts in their historians and our own; but particularly from the relations, laid before the House of Commons, of this whole affair, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

the ships which, as we before observed, had been taken from the Dutch, were set on fire. The next day, the advantage of wind and tide continuing, they advanced with six men-of-war and five fire-ships as high as Upnore Castle ; but were so warmly received by Major Scott, who commanded therein, and Sir Edward Spragge, from the opposite shore gave them so much disturbance, that they were quickly obliged to return.* However, as they came back, they burnt the Royal Oak, a very fine ship, and in her, Captain Douglas, whose behaviour ought to perpetuate his memory. He had received orders to defend his ship, which he did with the utmost resolution ; but having none to retire to, he chose to be burnt with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deserted his command.† On the 14th they carried off the hull of the Royal Charles, notwithstanding all the English could do to prevent it ; which was what they had principally at heart. In their return, two Dutch men-of-war ran ashore in the Medway, and were burnt, which, with eight fire-ships consumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loss acknowledged by the Dutch writers ; though it is not improbable that they really suffered much more.‡

* Parker's History of his own Time, p. 124. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 50. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 448. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 225. Memoirs of John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 7. State Letters of Roger, earl of Orrery, p. 239.

† "I could have been glad," says the ingenious Sir William Temple in his letter to Lord Lisle, in his works, vol. ii. p. 40. "to have seen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrate Captain Douglas's death, who stood and burnt in one of our ships at Chatham, when his soldiers left him, because it should never be said a DOUGLAS quitted his post without order. Whether it be wise in men to do such actions or no, I am sure it is so in STATES to honour them."

‡ Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 287. See the duke of Albemarle's narrative of this business, which he presented to the House of Commons in the ensuing sessions, in Echard's History of

De Ruyter, highly pleased with what he had performed, left admiral Van Nes with part of his fleet in the mouth of the Thames; and sailed with the rest to Portsmouth, in very sanguine hopes of burning the ships there. Failing in this design, he sailed westward to Torbay, where he was likewise repulsed.* Then he returned back again to the mouth of the Thames, and with twenty-five sail came as high as the Hope, where our squadron lay, under the command of Sir Edward Spragge. This consisted of eighteen sail; yet, the admiral not being on board when the enemy began the attack, we suffered at first from their fire ships; but Sir Edward repairing with great diligence to his command, and being joined by Sir Joseph Jordan with a few small ships, quickly forced the Dutch to retire. The like success attended their attack on Land-guard fort, which was performed by sixteen hundred men, commanded by Colonel Doleman, a republican, under the fire of their whole fleet: but Governor Darrel, an old cavalier, beat them off with great loss.† On the 23d, Van Nes sailed again up the river as far as the Hope, where he engaged Sir Edward Spragge, who had with him five frigates, and seventeen fire ships.‡ This proved a very sharp action, at least between the fire ships, of which the Dutch writers themselves confess they spent eleven to our eight.

The next day, the English attacked the Dutch in their turn; and, notwithstanding their superiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire ship they had left, to

England, book i. ch. 2. p. 839. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 804. *Levens der Zeehelden tweede deel*, p. 248. Le Clerc, tom. iii. Neuville, and other Dutch historians.

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 562.

† They made various attempts upon the coasts of Essex, but it seems with no great success, other than getting a little fresh provision, losing, as our writers assert, as many men as they stole sheep.

‡ Echard's History of England, p. 480. Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 401. Brandt *Leeven Van De Ruyter*, fol. 563.

prevent her being taken. On the 25th they bore out of the river, with all the sail they could make, followed at a distance by Sir Edward Spragge, and his remaining fire ships. On the 26th, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another English squadron from Harwich, consisting of five men of war, and fourteen fire ships. They boldly attacked the Dutch, and grappled the vice-admiral of Zealand, and another large ship; but were not able to fire them, though they frightened a hundred of their men into the sea. The rear-admiral of Zealand was forced on shore, and so much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home. *

The Dutch fleets, notwithstanding these disappointments, and though it was now very evident that no impression could be made, as had been expected, on the English coasts, continued still hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was actually signed, and ratifications exchanged at Breda. Our writers are pretty much at a loss to account for this conduct; but a Dutch historian has told us very plainly, that Cornelius De Witte ordered all our ports, on that side, to be sounded; and took incredible pains to be informed of the strength of our maritime forts, and the provision made for protecting the mouths of our rivers; which shewed plainly, that though this was the first, it was not designed to be the last visit † they paid us.

These were certainly very provoking circumstances; and he added to them at his return, a strange act of

* Besides the authors before mentioned, the reader may consult Ludlow's Memoirs, in order to be convinced, that the Dutch, and particularly the De Wittes, had our destruction more at heart than their own safety, and that this Chatham expedition was chiefly contrived, directed, and executed by our own fugitives.

† Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 807, where he adds, they waited for, and would have taken our Barbadoes fleet, if they had met it, with a view of creating a fresh breach, or at least availing themselves of their present superiority, and the king's unlucky situation.

indignity towards the king and the English nation, by representing himself in triumph, and them at his feet, in a pompous picture, which he caused to be hung up in a public edifice, to heighten the insult to the last degree. But before we speak of the peace, and of what followed thereupon in Holland, it will be requisite to give some account of such actions in the war as have not yet been mentioned. *

While the whole Dutch fleet was employed in alarming our coasts, Sir Jeremiah Smith was sent with a small squadron northwards; with which, and the assistance of a numerous fleet of privateers, already abroad for their own profit, the Dutch commerce to the Baltic was in a manner ruined, and multitudes of rich prizes were daily brought into English ports. Thus it may be truly said, that the nations at this time changed characters. The Dutch preferred the insult at Chatham, which, all things considered, was of little or no consequence to them, to the preservation of their trade; and the English endeavoured to make themselves amends for this unexpected loss of a few men of war, by taking numbers of merchantmen. Such are the effects which private passions produce in public affairs! The indolence and credulity of King Charles exposed his subjects and himself to this stain on their reputation; and the fury and self-interest of the De Witte faction, betrayed, for the sake of furthering their own purposes, the trade of their country at present, and its future welfare, to extreme hazard. But let us return from men to things. †

* These acts of indignity and contempt were not only galling to the king, and such of his subjects as were truly loyal, but they were also such marks of riveted hate, and implacable prejudice, as disposed that prince more than any thing to receive ill impressions from France; and therefore, how wrong soever his subsequent behaviour might be, politically considered, yet the Dutch had apparently themselves to blame.

† Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 564. Lord Ar-

The English, in the West Indies, took the island of St. Eustatia, Saba, St. Martin, Bonaira, the island of Tobago, and other places from the Dutch. On the contrary, the Dutch, under the conduct of Commodore Krynsen, made themselves masters of Surinam; and the French, assisted by the Dutch, almost deprived the English of their half of the island of St. Christopher, after several obstinate disputes, and the death of their commander Le Salles. Six frigates, and some other small vessels from Barbadoes, sailing from thence to repair this loss; were so ill treated by a violent storm, that they were put out of a condition to execute their design, and two or three of the most disabled ships fell into the hands of the enemy; though, before their misfortune, they had burnt two Dutch ships richly laden, in the harbour of Los Santos. Some authors say, this little fleet was commanded by the Lord Willoughby, and that he himself was lost in the hurricane. The English were more successful in the neighbourhood of Surinam, where they destroyed the Dutch colony; took a fort belonging to the French; and afterwards made themselves masters of many rich prizes, at the expense of that nation. *

The Dutch admiral Evertz, in conjunction with Commodore Krynsen, recovered the island of Tobago, and did a great deal of mischief upon the coast of Virginia. In March 1667, Sir John Harman was sent with a squadron of twelve men of war to redress these mischiefs. He performed all that he was sent for, and effectually cleared the seas both of French and Dutch rovers; yet he had not been long there before he found himself pushed

lington's Letters, vol. i. p. 174. vol. ii. p. 228, 231. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. i. p. 218, 220.

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 548, 557. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 49. Annals of the Universe, p. 120, 141, 154. Kennet, vol. iii. Echard's History of England, p. 838. Columna Rostrata, p. 189. Burchet's Naval History, p. 404. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 808, 809.

by a superiour force. The Dutch Commodore Krynsen, having embarked on board his squadron thirteen hundred land troops, sailed to Martinico, where he joined Monsieur de la Barre, who commanded all the forces of the French king in those parts. Their fleet, after this junction, consisted of two and twenty sail of stout ships, with which they went to seek the English squadron upon the coast of St. Christopher.

On the 10th of May, 1667, an engagement ensued, which lasted, with great vigour, for above three hours; in which, the English, notwithstanding the superiour force of the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The Dutch historians say, that had it not been for the courage and conduct of the officers of their fleet, the French admiral had been taken; and, on the other hand, it is certain that those officers were so ill satisfied with the behaviour of the French, that they quitted them upon their return to St. Christopher. The English admiral with his fleet, came soon after thither; burnt the French admiral; and six or seven ships in the harbour; and either sunk himself, or obliged the French to sink, all the rest of the ships that were there, except two, and this with the loss only of eighty men. *

A.D.
1667.

In the first of these engagements, our writers have observed, that the admiral, Sir John Harman, was exceedingly ill of the gout, so as not to be able to stir. On the first firing, however, he started up, and went upon deck; gave his orders throughout the engagement, in which he acted with all the alacrity imaginable; and when it was over, became as lame as he was before. By these victories he became master in those seas, and took from the Dutch their plantation at Surinam; but, however, it was restored by the treaty, as not taken

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 564. Annals of the Universe, p. 159. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. i. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. i. p. 218.

within the time limited by that treaty for the conclusion of hostilities. *

There were three distinct treaties of peace signed at Breda, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the English ministers, who were Lord Holles and Mr. Coventry; which were ratified on the 24th of August, 1667. The terms upon which this peace was made, were safe and honourable, at least, though not so glorious and beneficial as might have been expected after such a war. By it the honour of the flag was secured; and the island of Poleron, to prevent further disputes, was yielded to the Dutch. In the West Indies we kept all that we had taken, except Surinam; and the French were obliged to restore what they had taken in those parts from us. †

Here it may not be amiss to observe, that the loss of Poleron, and, in consequence of that, the spice trade, was not so much owing to this treaty as to the conduct of Cromwell, to whom it was yielded, when, after turning out his masters, he made peace with the Dutch. In obtaining it, he consulted his honour, and seemed to have the interest of the nation at heart. But, knowing of how great consequence it was to the Dutch, he consented that, paying him an annual pension, they should keep it; sacrificing manifestly thereby the public interest to his own. The island being thus out of our possession, and being of greater consequence than ever to the Dutch, they would not at the time of this treaty depart from their pretensions.

* Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 50. Columna Rostrata, p. 191.

† Corps Universel Diplomatique de Droit des Gens, tom. vii. part i. p. 40—57. Memoires du Comte d'Estrades, tom. iv. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. i. p. 146. See the Lord Ambassador Coventry's Letter to Sir William Temple, dated Breda, August 4, N. S. 1667, in his works, vol. ii. p. 133. Miscellanea Aulica, p. 440.

It is certain that the king made this peace much against his will, and without obtaining what he sought and expected from the war. The motives which induced him thereto were chiefly these. First, disorders in his domestic affairs, which disquieted him with great reason. He found there was a strong spirit of disaffection amongst his subjects, which produced the late misfortune at Chatham; and, in case the war had continued, would have probably had still worse effects. And, secondly, the French king's design was become apparent; and his claim to the greatest part of the Spanish Netherlands openly avowed. If therefore, the quarrel between Great Britain and Holland had subsisted any longer, the balance of power on the continent must have been immediately and irretrievably lost.* Such were the true grounds of the peace at Breda; and whoever considers the situation of things at home and abroad at that juncture, will think it, upon the whole, as good a peace as could have been expected.

We succeeded better in our negotiations this year in other parts. The worthy and wise earl of Sandwich, concluded, on the 13th of May, a treaty with Spain, whereby all old differences were settled; the friendship between the two crowns renewed and strengthened; and our commerce much extended.† Soon after this, his lordship went to Lisbon, and there, by his mediation,

A.D.
1667.

* What I assert above, the reader will find confirmed by two unexceptionable and irrefragable witnesses, whose knowledge cannot be doubted, or credit questioned. As to the disposition of the people to set up a republic again here, and the offers of Holland and France on that head, Ludlow is full in his *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 184, &c. As to the king's judgment on the state of affairs, Sir William Temple gives a candid and copious account in his letters, in which also he concurs with the king in his opinion.

† Lord Arlington's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 224. See Sir William Temple's letters to the Lord-ambassador Coventry, dated May 21, N.S. 1667, in his works, vol. ii. p. 34. See also, p. 313.

a peace was made between the crowns of Spain and Portugal; by which the latter came to be owned by the former as an independent kingdom; and an end was put to a war which had already weakened each of the nations greatly, and might, if longer pursued, have been fatal to both.* Toward the close of this year, his majesty sent Sir William Temple into Holland, in order to enter into a stricter correspondence with the states; and to concert with them the means of preserving Flanders from falling into the hands of the French. The Dutch in general, and even the pensionary De Witte himself, now saw plainly they had been dupes to France in this war.

This shews that his majesty, for the present, laid aside his resentments for what had been done against him personally by the Dutch; and this for the sake of giving a check to the too great power of France. In consequence of Sir William's negociation, was concluded the famous triple alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland; the most glorious step taken in this reign, and which, steadily pursued, would have crushed at the beginning that ambitious prince, whose projects never ceased disturbing his neighbours; till after being humbled by the arms of Britain, in a succeeding reign, he came to know himself, and to deplore them on his death-bed.† But, to return to our more immediate business.

A.D.
1668.

The Dutch war being over, his majesty sent Sir Thomas Allen with a stout squadron into the Mediterranean, to repress the insults of the Algerines; who, taking advantage of our differences, had disturbed both the English

* Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 236. Sir William Temple's Works, vol. ii. Memoires d'Ablancourt, p. 349—361. Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. part i. p. 70.

† Sir William Temple's Works, vol. ii. p. 45—81. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. i. p. 198. See the duke of Buckingham's character of the earl of Arlington in his works, vol. ii. p. 87. Corps Diplomatique, tom. vii. part i. p. 68. Le siecle de Louis XIV. par M. Voltaire, tom. ii. p. 94, 95.

commerce and the Dutch. The latter sent admiral Van Ghent with a squadron to secure their trade; and he, having engaged six corsairs, forced them to fly to their own coasts, where probably they would have escaped, if Commodore Beach with four English frigates, had not fallen upon them; and, after a close chase, obliged them to run a-ground. In this situation they were attacked by the English and Dutch in their boats; and, being abandoned by their respective crews, were all taken, and a great number of Christian slaves of different nations released. The English commodore presented sixteen Dutch slaves to admiral Van Ghent, and received from him twenty English by way of exchange; but the Algerine ships being leaky, were burnt. The same year some of our frigates attacked seven of the enemy's best ships near Cape Gaeta. The admiral and vice-admiral of the Algerines carried fifty-six guns each; their rear-admiral, the biggest ship in the squadron, carried sixty, and the least forty. Yet, after a sharp engagement, the vice-admiral sunk, and the rest were forced to retire, most of them miserably disabled. * At the close of the year 1669, Captain Kempthorne, afterwards Sir John, in the *Mary Rose*, a small frigate, engaged seven Algerine men of war; and, after a very warm action, forced them to sheer off, being in no condition to continue the fight any longer; of which we have a particular account. †

A.D.
1669.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that, considering the Dutch, as well as we, were concerned in attacking these pirates, we have no better account of the war that was carried on against them, or of the force they then had,

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 569, 578. Annals of the Universe, p. 188, 239. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 295. Echard's History of England, p. 857.

† This account, together with a print representing the whole action, engraved by Hollar, is inserted by Ogilby in his description of Africa, p. 218.

but what we are left to collect as we can, from the scattered accounts of particular engagements with them. The only list I have seen, is of the state of their navy in 1668, and then it consisted of twenty-four ships great and small, that is, from about fifty to twenty guns: and they had likewise six new ships of force upon the stocks. Yet this pitiful enemy continued to disturb, and even to distress the commerce of both the maritime powers for several years. *

A.D.
1670.

At last, Sir Edward Spragge was sent in 1670, with a strong squadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruized for some days before their capital, without receiving any satisfactory answer to his demands. Upon this, he sailed from thence, with six frigates and three fire ships, to make an attempt upon a considerable number of those corsairs which lay in the haven of Bugia. By the way he lost the company of two of his fire ships; yet, not discouraged by this accident, he persisted in his resolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven; forced the Algerines aground; and, notwithstanding the fire of the castle, burnt seven of their ships, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which, he destroyed another of their ships of war near Teddeller. These and other misfortunes caused such a tumult among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey; and chose another, by whom the peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the English, on the ninth of December in the same year; and as they were now sufficiently humbled, and saw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with England must end in their destruction, they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times. †

* O. Dapper Description de l'Afrique, p. 160—184. Hist. du Royaume d'Algier, liv. ii. ch. 14. See also the title ALGIERS in the large historical dictionary in Dutch, by Luisius.

† Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 581. Annals of

A.D.
1671.

We are now come to the third Dutch war, more frequently called the second, because it was so in respect of this reign, and to account for the beginning of it will be no easy matter. It has been before shewn, that the last treaty of peace was made by King Charles against his will, and on terms to which force only made him consent. We need not wonder, therefore, that he still retained a dislike to the Dutch. Besides, there had been many other things done, sufficient to give distaste to any crowned head. For instance, their factory at Gambrun in Persia, after the peace, burnt the king in effigy, having first dressed up the image in an old second-hand suit, to express the distress in which they knew him in his exile; for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, so the states-general looked upon themselves as above giving him any satisfaction. *

They likewise suffered some medals to be struck, in which their vanity was very apparent. Among others, because the triple alliance had given a check to the power of France, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; they were pleased to arrogate to themselves the sole honour of giving peace to Europe, and of being arbiters among contending princes. † Here, however, it must be owned, that, in making war upon

the Universe, p. 263. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 203, 204. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 128, 129. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. xv. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. ch. 21.

* This was very much insisted upon in those days, and the rather, because things of a like nature were practised by the Dutch in Russia and other places. As to the fact before us, we have a long detail of it in *Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, vol. i. p. 775. It is mentioned by Basnage, tom. i. p. 808, and De Neuville, who both own, that it was a base and unjustifiable outrage. Instead, however, of attributing this to the Dutch nation, we ought in justice to refer it to the spirit of the De Witte ministry, which was its true source.

† Gerard Van Loon *Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas*, tom. iii. p. 17, 22.

them at this juncture, King Charles acted too much under the direction of French counsels. He had about him the worst set of ministers that ever cursed this, or, perhaps, any other nation. Men of different faiths, if bad statesmen have any; and who agreed only in promoting those arbitrary acts, which, while they seemed to make their master great, in reality ruined his, and, if they could have been supported, would have exalted their power.*

This infamous crew, for however decked with titles by their master, no Englishman will transmit their names to posterity with honour, were then called the CABAL: and these engaged the king to listen to the propositions of his most Christian majesty, who, as he had before deceived him to serve the Dutch, so he now offered to deceive the Dutch to gratify our king: and that Charles might not hesitate at this step, Louis le Grand betrayed his creature De Witte, and discovered a project he had sent him, of entering into an offensive alliance against England; which, with other articles for his private advantage, most unhappily determined our monarch to take a step prejudicial to the Protestant interest, repugnant to that of this nation, and dangerous to the balance of power in Europe.†

A.D. 1671. By virtue of secret engagements with France, this war was to end in the total destruction of the republic of Holland. Part of her dominions was to be added to those of France, and the rest to fall to the share of England. In order to have a pretence for breaking with

* The candid and inquisitive reader, if desirous of going to the bottom of this, may consult the very ingenious Sir William Coventry's England's appeal from the private cabal at Whitehall to the great council of the nation, London, 1673, 4to.

† The Cabal was a word very luckily chosen, since it was composed of the initial letters of their titles, which were Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. As to the justice of my account of them, the reader may consult Kennet, Echard, Rapin, Temple, Parker, Burnet, and Carte's Life of the duke of Ormond.

them, the captain of the *Merlin* yacht, with Sir William Temple's lady on board, had directions to pass through the Dutch fleet in the channel; and, on their not striking to his flag, was commanded to fire, which he did; yet, this not being thought enough, he was blamed instead of being rewarded for it; and, for not sufficiently asserting the king's right, he was, on his arrival in England, committed to the Tower.* The pretence, however, thus secured, the French next undertook to lull the Dutch asleep, as they had lulled us, when our ships were burnt at Chatham; and this, too, they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their schemes depended. Yet De Witte trusted to this, till, as the dupe of France, and the scourge of his own nation, he fell a sacrifice to the fury of an enraged people. The war once resolved on, Sir Robert Holmes, who began the former by his reprisals in Guinea, had orders to open this too, though as he did that, without any previous declaration, by attacking the *Smyrna* fleet.

This squadron of his majesty's ships was commanded by Sir Robert, who hoisted his flag in the *St. Michael*, as admiral; the earl of Ossory in the *Resolution*, as vice-admiral; and Sir Fretcheville Holles, as rear-admiral, in the *Cambridge*. They cruized in the channel on purpose to execute this scheme; of which, however, the Dutch had some notice, and sent advice-boats to direct their fleet to steer northwards. But these instructions came too late; for they were already so far advanced, that it was thought more dangerous to return than to proceed, and therefore in a council of war it was resolved to hold on their course. On the 13th of March five of our frigates fell in with this fleet, which consisted of about fifty sail of merchant-ships,

* Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 333. Sir William Temple's Works, vol. ii. p. 249.

and an escort of six men of war. When the English vessels came near them, they fired in order to make them strike, and lower their topsails, which they refused to do. *

Upon this the fight began, which lasted till night, and was renewed the next morning, when the Dutch fleet was in a manner ruined; five of their richest merchant-men were made prizes; their rear-admiral was boarded by Captain John Holmes, brother to the admiral, and taken, but soon after sunk, and the rest of the men of war were very rudely handled. † The Dutch historians, however, set a good face upon the matter, and say, that their seamen behaved very bravely. This is true, but they suffered deeply for all that; and besides, this was the beginning of hostilities, and a necessary prelude to the war. So the states understood it, and immediately despatched deputies hither, and to the French king, to sue for peace. ‡

In this, as in the former dispute with the Dutch, such ships as had been detained in port were dismissed on both sides; and, in the midst of a cruel war, the Dutch professed all imaginable esteem for the English nation; and, on the other hand, King Charles offered his royal protection to such as thought fit to quit their country in its present calamitous situation, and take shelter in his

* Onroerd Nederland, 1. deel. fol. 85. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 193. Coke's Detection of the four last Reigns, part ii. p. 67. Vie De Ruyter, part ii. p. 2. where the reader may find the relation of Captain Ysselmuyde, who, after the death of Commodore Hayes, commanded the Dutch fleet.

† Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 582. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 310. Echard, p. 879. Sir William Temple's Works, vol. ii. p. 250.

‡ Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 193. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. 15. p. 264. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iv. p. 20, 21.

A.D.
1672.

dominions.* The war was solemnly declared on the 28th of March, 1672, in the cities of London and Westminster,† and great pains were taken to impose upon the world a gross and groundless notion, that it was undertaken at the instance, or at least with the concurrence of the people in general; whereas they knew their interest too well not to discern how little this measure agreed with it; and therefore, though the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain supplies, while the Dutch, in the midst of all their miseries, went on receiving sixty millions of their money, which is between five and six millions of ours, annually from their subjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money cheerfully paid to preserve the commonwealth.‡

The French king, that he might seem to perform his treaty with the English better than that which in the former war he made with the Dutch, sent the Count d'Estrees,

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 585. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 241. An order of privy council, giving orders to the commissioners of prizes to release all Dutch ships, goods, and merchandizes, seized in any of his majesty's ports before the declaration of the war, or which voluntarily came in thither, together with all persons belonging to the same, and giving free leave to all Dutch merchants or others to depart the kingdom, if they think fit, without any incumbrance or molestation, dated Whitehall, May 15, 1672, fol. Basnage, tom. ii. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. 15. Neuville, tom. iv. ch. 4. See also his majesty's gracious declaration for the encouraging the subjects of the United Provinces of the Low Countries to transport themselves with their estates, and to settle in this his majesty's kingdom of England. Given at Whitehall, the 12th of June, 1672, fol.

† His majesty King Charles the Second's declaration against the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries: published by the advice of his privy council, 1672, fol. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 362.

‡ Columna Rostrata, p. 215. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 194. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. 15. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iv. ch. 4. and other Dutch historians.

vice-admiral of France, with a large squadron, to join the English fleet. He arrived at St. Helen's on the 3d of May; immediately afterwards the king went down to Portsmouth; and, to shew his confidence in his new ally, went on board the ship of the French admiral, where he remained some hours. Our fleet, in a short time, sailed to the Downs, the duke of York, as high-admiral, wearing the red, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Soon after the French squadron joined them, their admiral bearing the white flag; and then the fleet consisted of one hundred and one sail of men of war, besides fire-ships and tenders. Of these the English had sixty-five ships of war, and on board them four thousand and ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty men. The French squadron consisted of thirty-six sail, on board of which were one thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pieces of cannon, and about eleven thousand men. The Dutch, in the mean time, were at sea with a very considerable fleet, consisting of ninety-one stout men of war, fifty-four fire-ships, and twenty-three yachts. On the 9th of May they were seen off Dover, and the 13th of the same month a Dutch squadron chased the Gloucester, and some other ships, under the cannon of Sheerness.*

A.D.
1672.

The English fleet were at anchor in Solebay, on the 28th of May, when the Dutch fell in with them; and, if they had not spent too much time in council, had certainly surprised them. As it was, many of the English captains were forced to cut their cables, in order to get time enough into the line of battle. The engagement

* It is generally believed, and indeed with good reason, that Count d'Estrees had orders to look on rather than fight; a conduct agreeable to that which had been pursued by the same court in the former war, when they pretended to assist the Dutch; as the reader may perceive, by comparing what is here said with the account before given, p. 314.

began between seven and eight in the morning, when De Ruyter attacked the red squadron in the center, and engaged the admiral, on board of which was his royal highness the duke of York, for two hours, forcing his highness at last to remove to another ship. The Dutch captain, Van Brakell, attacked the earl of Sandwich in the *Royal James*; and while they were engaged, almost all the squadron of Van Ghent fell upon the earl's ships. His lordship behaved with amazing intrepidity; killed admiral Van Ghent himself; sunk three fire-ships and a man of war, that would have laid him on board; but then having lost all his officers, and two-thirds of his men, his battered ship was grappled, and set on fire by a fourth fire-ship. Some of his men escaped; yet the earl continued on board till the flames surrounded him, where he perished; but left behind him a name immortal, and which will ever be revered by such as esteem the valour of an officer, the capacity of a statesman, or the integrity of a patriot.*

The death of their admiral, with the furious attack of part of the blue squadron, coming in, though too late, to the earl of Sandwich's assistance, threw this part of the Dutch fleet, which had been commanded by Van Ghent, into very great confusion, and forced them to stand off. This gave an opportunity for the blue squadron to join the red, and to assist the duke of York; who, deserted

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 584. Parker's History of his own Time, p. 150. Memoirs of John, duke of Buckinghamshire, in his Works, vol. ii. p. 14. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 240. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 374. A true relation of the engagement of his majesty's fleet, under the command of his royal highness, with the Dutch fleet, May 28, 1672, in a letter from Henry Saville, Esq. on board his royal highness, to the earl of Arlington, principal secretary of state, dated from on board the Prince, near the Middle Ground, June 6, 1672, with a postscript, giving an account of the number killed and wounded. Published by authority, 1672, fol.

by the French, was in the utmost danger of being oppressed by the two squadrons of De Ruyter and Bankert. About this time Cornelius Evertz, vice-admiral of Zealand, was killed; and De Ruyter and Allemand narrowly escaped being burnt by fire-ships; but, when the English thought themselves secure of victory, the scattered squadron of Van Ghent came in to the assistance of their countrymen, and again rendered doubtful the fortune of the day.*

All this time the French, who composed the white squadron, instead of seconding the continued efforts of the English, kept as far out of danger as they could; and left our fleet to sustain the whole force of the enemy, at a disadvantage of three to two. But, notwithstanding this vast inequality of numbers, the fight continued with inexpressible obstinacy till towards the evening, when victory declared for the English. Five or six of the enemy's fire-ships were sunk by an English man of war; and Sir Joseph Jordan, of the blue squadron, having the advantage of the wind, pierced the Dutch fleet, and thereby spread through it the utmost confusion; while a fire-ship clapped their admiral De Ruyter on board, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he escaped being burnt or taken. As it grew dark, De Ruyter, collecting his fleet in the best order he could, fought retreating; and, as the most authentic of the Dutch historians say, quitted the place of fight, and steered northwards.†

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 207, 208. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 324. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iv. p. 55. La Vie De Ruyter, part ii. p. 36.

† *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, Baronet, p. 20. Kennet's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 314. Echard's *History of England*, p. 883, 884. *Annals of the Universe*, p. 280. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 209. Leven Van De Ruyter, p. 675.

A.D.
1672.

As the French king had by this time over-run a great part of their country, the states, by the advice of the grand pensionary De Witte, whose brother Cornelius * had been present in this fight, seated under a canopy, as if he had been a sovereign prince, assumed to themselves the honour of beating the English. However, they were so modest as to make no rejoicings for this supposed victory; and the distress their affairs were in might well excuse their departure on this occasion from truth. Their people were already disposed to destroy their governors, through madness, at the sight of the cruelties exercised by the French; and if to these there had been joined the news of a defeat at sea, one can scarcely conceive how the republic could have been preserved. As it was, the populace, instead of applauding, insulted Cornelius De Witte on his return; and framing to themselves an imaginary quarrel between him and De Ruyter, would willingly have killed him for an offence he never committed. †

The English, on the other hand, had all the marks that could be desired of a victory, but very dear-bought victory. They carried off the *Staveren*, a large Dutch man of war; whereas the enemy took none of ours.

* There was on this occasion, says the author of the History of the Dutch war, a fine chair of ivory placed on an estrade, covered with a most magnificent carpet, upon the deck of the ship, called the *Seven United Provinces*, in which sat Cornelius De Witte in a magistrate's robe, surrounded with an officer and twelve halberdiers in his own livery, with caps on their heads, decorated with green and blue ribbons. By this pompous appearance he pretended to add to the grandeur of the sovereignty of the states he represented; to have an opportunity of observing the motions of the fleet; and the progress of the battle; to animate his men; and to render the dignity of plenipotentiary at sea equal to that of general at land, both in splendour and authority.

† *Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 207, 210. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 322. *Neuville Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iv. chap. viii. *La Vie De Ruyter*, part ii. p. 40, 55.

They kept their post, while De Ruyter made the best of his way home. All our relations made the victory clear, though not of any great consequence; while De Ruyter himself, in his letter to the states, did not so much as claim it, but rather tacitly admitted the contrary. Cornelius De Witte, indeed, was of another opinion; but, therein his interest dictated rather than his judgment. The only objection that could be made to our claim was, our not following the Dutch to their own coasts; and, if we consider the strange and unbecoming behaviour of the French in the battle, this will appear no objection at all.

As to the loss it was pretty equal on both sides. We had four men of war sunk or disabled, but they were small ships; whereas the Dutch lost three of the best in their fleet; one sunk, another burnt, and a third taken; a fourth, called the Great Holland, commanded by the brave Captain Brakell, was entirely disabled. As for the French, notwithstanding all their caution, they lost two men of war, and their rear-admiral M. de la Rabiniere. Of persons of note, besides the earl of Sandwich, there were slain Captain Digby of the *Henry*, Captain Pearce of the *St. George*, Captain Waterworth of the *Anne*, Sir Fretcheville Holles, who commanded the *Cambridge*, Sir John Fox of the *Prince*, and Captain Hannam of the *Triumph*. Of our volunteers, there fell the Lord Maidstone, Mr. Montague, Sir Philip Carteret, Sir Charles Harboard, two of the duke of York's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, Mr. Trevanian, and many others. Of private men, about two thousand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think fit to publish any list, though their loss without question was as great; since De Ruyter says in his letter, "it was the hardest fought battle that he ever saw." *

* See the relation written by Henry Saville, Esq. before cited, p. 7. Kennet, Echard, Burchet. See Monsieur De Witte's letter to the

Most of our writers, even of naval history, pass over in silence the remaining service performed in this year, because it did not answer the mighty expectations of the ministry, by whom the most sanguine schemes were contrived. But, as truth ought on all occasions to be preferred to every thing; so I think myself obliged to report fairly the extravagant designs in which we embarked, and the means by which we were disappointed, not more perhaps to our neighbours' advantage than to our own; for in such wars as are made by princes, through caprice, resentment, or ambition, against the interest of their people, it often happens, that a disappointment of the former proves a kind of victory to the latter.*

On the return of the Dutch fleet to their own coasts, it was laid up, and was forced to remain so for want of gun-powder, all that was on board being sent to the army. The states perceiving their authority almost lost, and their country on the very brink of ruin, resolved once more to try the force of entreaties; with which view they sent four deputies to England, and as many to the French king.† The business of the former was to shew the danger of the Protestant religion; the apparent and

states of the 8th of June, 1672, and that of De Ruyter of the same date. See likewise De Witte's letter of the 10th of June in *la Vie De Ruyter*, p. 46, 49, 52. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 325.

* Mr. Philips, in his *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 587, mentions our fleet missing the Dutch East India ships; as does also the earl of Arlington, in his letter of August 5, 1672, but speak not one word of this invasion. Bishop Kennet is also silent, and Burchet truly, because there was nothing done, seems unwilling to let his readers know there was any thing intended. Mr. Colliber, in his *Columna Rostrata*, relates the matter fairly but in very few words, p. 227.

† Lord Arlington's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 375. The Dutch ministers, coming without leave or passport, were, as his lordship writes, ordered to Hampton-court, there to remain till the king should think fit to allow them an audience. *Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 239, 251. *La Vie De Ruyter*, part ii. p. 59.

near approaching ruin of the balance of Europe; and the dismal consequences which must follow, even to England, from the further prosecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any satisfaction to his most Christian majesty, that he should require.

The arrival of the deputies in England had very different effects; it alarmed the court, and filled the nation with concern. The king, who was then in the hands of the cabal, treated them with a haughtiness as little agreeable to his natural temper as inconsistent with his dignity. Instead of hearing and giving them an answer in person, as he was wont on such applications; he was pleased to send four of the cabal to confer with them, in order to know what proposals they had to make; and, afterwards, sent over with them the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Arlington, and the viscount Halifax, into Holland, as if he intended to treat there; whereas the true design was, to be rid of the deputies, the sight of whom drew the compassion of the nation, who considered the Dutch no longer as their rivals in trade, but as a Protestant people sacrificed to a French and Popish interest. *

On the arrival of these lords in Holland, they made most extravagant demands; such as ten millions of guilders for the expense of the war; an annual tribute of one hundred thousand for the liberty of fishing; the perpetual

* I have entered farther into this matter than I should otherwise have done, for two reasons. First, this was the grand expedition, and, had it taken effect, would have put an end to the war, and a period to the republic of Holland. Lewis XIV. was in Utrecht, the bishop of Munster before Groningen, and, had the English landed, the Zealanders were inclined to submit. Secondly, this was apparently the favourite scheme of the cabal. Shaftsbury at home preached up openly the destruction of Holland. Buckingham and Arlington were abroad, intent on putting his doctrine in practice. This attempt therefore was critical, and its miscarriage saved Holland certainly, Britain consequentially, and very probably all Europe!

stadtholdership for the prince of Orange, and his issue male. All these were moderate articles to the rest; for they insisted on a share in their East India trade; the possession of the city of Sluys in Flanders; and the islands of Cadzand, Walcheren, Goree and Voorn. After the proposal of these intolerable conditions, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arlington, deserting their colleague, went away to the French camp; and there concluded an agreement in the name of their own prince, without his instructions, with the French king, the principal point of which was, that neither should, upon any terms, make a separate peace with the Dutch. * As for the deputies sent to his most Christian majesty, they were answered in the style of a conqueror, and so sent back to spread despair through the country; which they did so effectually, that the inhabitants drew from thence for their safety; for, seeing no hopes of living any better than in slavery, they generously resolved to lay aside all treaties, and to die free. †

In the mean time, the French and English fleets, being perfectly refitted, and the latter having taken on board a large body of land-forces, sailed again for the Dutch coasts, with a design to make a descent on Zealand, the only province into which the French had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the Dutch fleet; but, not thinking proper to attack them among the sands, they

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* Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 378. This whole affair is very fairly stated in the complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 315—318, where, from Secretary Coventry's Remarks, it looks as if these lords acted in their negociation with the French king, rather as deputies from the cabal, than as ambassadors from Charles II. and, from what followed, one would imagine the king, too, saw their conduct in this light.

† Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 241, 246. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. 15. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iv. liv. xiii. xiv, p. 120, 148. La Vie De Ruyter, part ii. p. 60.

deferred the execution of their design, and blocked up the Maese and Texel; which De Ruyter, having strict orders from the states not to hazard a battle, saw with concern, yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of York was resolved to disembark, on the isle of Texel,* the body of troops on board his fleet. The occasion was favourable in all respects; the French and the bishop of Munster were in the heart of the Dutch territories, so that no great force could be drawn together to resist them on shore; and the coast was so low and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a superiour force could have secured the Dutch from this invasion.

It was upon the 3d of July this resolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces should have landed the next flood. But Providence interposed in favour of a free people, and saved them from a yoke which seemed already to press upon their necks. The ebb, instead of six, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended descent for that time; and the storm, that rose the night following, forced the fleet out to sea, where they struggled for some time with very foul weather; and, the opportunity being quite lost, returned, without performing any thing of consequence, to the English shore. The Dutch clergy magnified this accident into a miracle; and, though some of our writers have thereupon arraigned them of superstition; yet I must own, I think their excess of piety, in this respect, very pardonable; especially if we consider, there could not be a higher stroke of policy, at that time, than to persuade a nation, struggling against superiour enemies, that they were particularly favoured by Heaven. †

* The Texel, though a small island, is yet the most considerable of those which, lying in a straight line in the German ocean, cover the mouth of the Zuyder zee.

† Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 264. where this extraordinary accident is justly stated, and fairly accounted for. The wonder did not consist so much in an ebb of twelve hours, as in the

After this disappointment, there was no other action thought of at sea for this year, except the sending Sir Edward Spragge, with a squadron, to disturb the Dutch herring-fishery; which he performed with a degree of moderation that became so great a man; contenting himself with taking one of their vessels, when he saw that was sufficient to disperse the rest.* But while the war seemed to slumber in Europe, it raged sufficiently in the West and East Indies.

Sir Tobias Bridges, with five or six ships, and a regiment of foot, from Barbadoes, made himself master of the island of Tobago, taking about four hundred prisoners, and five hundred slaves.† On the other side, the Dutch, with five or six hundred men, possessed themselves of the island of St. Helena, lying off the coast of Africa; for the fort not being defensible on the land-side, the English governor and his people, after having several times repulsed the enemy, retired with all their valuable effects on board some English and French ships, as finding it impossible to preserve the island after their landing. But Commodore Munden, being sent with four men of war, to convoy the English East India fleet, perceiving on his arrival at St. Helena what had happened, resolved to attempt retaking it: he was rather induced to this resolution, from his want of fresh water. Accordingly, landing some men on that side of the island which is most

time in which it happened; for, though the like has fallen out before and since about the equinoxes; yet in July it never happened but at this juncture, when the swelling of the waters in the Y and Zuyderzee repelled the flood. Lord Arlington in his letters of August 29, and September 26, 1672, mentions the bad weather, but takes no notice of the ebbing of the water.

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 588. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 388.

† This island, which belonged of right to the crown of England, was however seized and settled, during our troubles, by the Dutch, who bestowed upon it the name of New Walcheren, and rendered it

accessible, and at the same time attacking the fort with his ships, he easily succeeded in his design. *

The island being thus recovered, it served the English as a net to inclose and take the enemy's ships; for a Dutch East India vessel, called the *Europe*, coming to St. Helena, with a new governor on board, was seized. And soon after six others appearing in sight of the island, the English commodore, the better to confirm them in the opinion that their countrymen were still in possession, caused the Dutch flag to be displayed from the fort; which stratagem had so good an effect, that the East India ships approaching nearer, their vice-admiral and rear-admiral were taken, with an immense quantity of silver on board; as the rest would likewise have been, had not the English discovered themselves somewhat too soon. On the other side, the Hollanders, who attempted the island of Bombay, were repulsed with great loss; but near Massalpatnam, thirteen Dutch men of war, and some other vessels, being rashly engaged by ten English ships, partly men of war, and partly merchantmen, there happened a long and bloody fight, which ended with the death of the Dutch vice-admiral John Frederickson, and the taking of three English merchant ships. So that the loss of the two nations was pretty equal, though possibly the Dutch esteemed themselves gainers. †

a populous, prosperous, and profitable plantation. See Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle des Isles des Antilles*, p. 7.

* Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 495. where the excellence of the air, the variety of fine fruits, and the commodious situation of this island, are amply explained. It was, the Dutch having possessed themselves of the Cape of Good Hope, settled by the English East India Company about twelve years before.

† Philips's *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 591. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol ii. p. 425. A Relation of the Retaking of the Island of St. Helena, and three Dutch East India ships, published by authority, 1673, fol. *Annals of the Universe*, p. 300. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 230, 231.

All this time, commerce, in general, suffered exceedingly on both sides: noble plantations were ruined; and the French, who before this war had very little skill in navigation, and scarcely at all understood the art of fighting at sea, as their own writers confessed, improved wonderfully in both, at the joint expense of Britain and Holland. Thus their self-interested political end was plainly answered, while the maritime powers were fighting with, and weakening each other; and this, too, as much against inclinations as their interests, which it is necessary for us to shew.*

As the rancour which the Dutch had discovered against the English, and their most unjustifiable behaviour in respect of the insults offered to the king's person, were not so much owing to their own prejudices as to the arts of the De Wittes; and, as they plainly saw, that this war and all its miseries came upon them through the vanity of their governors, and from the resentment King Charles still had for the action at Chatham, contrived by John, and executed by Cornelius De Witte; so they turned their rage upon these two brothers, and the rest of their faction; obliged the States to repeal the perpetual edict, which followed the conclusion of the last war, and took away the office of stadtholder for ever; advanced the prince of Orange to that high dignity; and soon after, in a fit of popular fury, barbarously murdered the De Wittes; as if the blood of these men could have restored that peace, which, in truth, but for their schemes, had never been lost. In order to be convinced of this, the reader need only consult the secret resolutions of the States-General, during his ministry, which are published; his letters, and his maxims, all which clearly prove his jealousy of, and aversion from this nation. The truth is,

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. xv. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iv. liv. xv.

like too many great ministers, he deceived himself into an opinion, that what was requisite to support his administration, was essentially necessary to the security of his country. Upon this rock he split, ruined himself, and brought the republic to the brink of destruction.

Nay, to shew how thoroughly they were cured of those fatal prepossessions, which had brought upon them the naval force of so potent a neighbour; the people, on the first arrival of the English ambassadors, thronged about them, and cried out, "God bless the king of England! "God bless the prince of Orange! and the devil take the "states." They hoped, and with great reason, that these testimonies of their sincere desire of peace, the ruin of the Louvestein faction, and the advancement of his nephew, the prince of Orange, would have pacified our king; and they were infinitely concerned when they found themselves mistaken. They did not, however, as before, vent their spleen in violent acts of personal malice, or disrespect toward the king; but contented themselves with carrying on the war with courage and resolution; and, at the same time, omitted no opportunity of signifying their earnest desire of peace.*

In England, the credit of the cabal, which had been long lost with the people, began now to decline also with the king; and the parliament, though very loyal, yet in granting a large supply to the king, would not own the Dutch war; but borrowed an expression from the king's speech, and declared what they gave to be for the king's EXTRAORDINARY OCCASIONS. They likewise fell warmly upon matters of religion, and passed an act, since sufficiently famous under the title of the TEST; which putting it out of the power of the Papists to continue in any public em-

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 315. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. xv. p. 304. Neuville *Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iv. p. 176. E. Vander Hoeven, *Leeven Dood van Corn*, en Jan De Witte, book ii. p. 346—370.

ployments, Lord Clifford was soon after obliged to quit the treasury, and the duke of York immediately declined the command of the fleet.*

These were changes, which had a natural tendency to bring things about again into their proper spheres; yet the Dutch war was carried on for another year through the influences of their councils who began it; and, which must appear extremely singular to any man who is a stranger to the arts practised in courts, the very people who promoted the war, secretly practised the defeat of those measures by which alone it could be pursued with honour. For this I know of no reasons that have been assigned, and therefore I venture to speak my own opinion, that it proceeded from a desire in the ministry to gain a pretence for making a peace, from some want of success in the war, when it was to be carried on under the command of Prince Rupert; who, though he was too wise to be fond of this service, was yet too honest and too brave a man to neglect his duty.†

Notwithstanding it was resolved early in the year 1673; that Prince Rupert should command, yet no care was taken to fit out the fleet in time, and much less to shew any degree of confidence, or even complaisance, in furnishing him with such officers as were agreeable to him. Sir Robert Holmes was laid aside, though formerly so much caressed, merely because he was known to be in his highness's favour; and Sir Edward Spragge sent in his stead, who not long after went into France on a secret commission, without Prince Rupert's knowing any thing of his business. With the like view, Sir John Harman was

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* Andrew Marvell's *Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Power in England*, London, 1678, fol.

† Philips's *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 590. Lord Arlington's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 404, 405, 406, 409. Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 74, 76. Kennet's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 320. *Memoirs of what passed in Christendom from 1672 to 1679*, by Sir William Temple.

appointed his vice-admiral, when he was known to have survived the great abilities he once had; and besides was so ill of the gout when he went on board, that he was not able to move either hand or foot, or so much as to stir out of his cabin. The prince expostulated in vain against these and many other hardships, of which he could obtain no redress; and therefore in the beginning of the month of April, hearing the Dutch fleet was at sea, and intended to come and sink many hulks filled with lead and stones in the mouth of the river; he, with much industry, got together as many of the fourth and fifth rate ships as he could, and with some fire-ships, sailed out and took such measures as prevented them. This was one of the schemes laid in the former war; and, if the Dutch could have accomplished it, would have been attended with very mischievous effects.

About the middle of May the fleet, though indifferently provided, was ready for the sea; but then the great difficulty was, how to join our good allies, the French, who were at Brest, and who freely declared, that they were resolved not to stir till our fleet was in the channel. As the Dutch laboured day and night to strengthen their navy, his highness saw the necessity of joining the French early; and, as a proof of his high courage, as well as great skill in maritime affairs, he passed in defiance of the enemy, then riding at the Gun-fleet, through the passage called the Narrow, and this, too, against the wind; which so surprised the Dutch, that, seeing the end of their lying there lost, they sailed back again to their own ports. *

* An exact relation of all the Engagements and Actions of his majesty's fleet under the command of his highness Prince Rupert, and of all circumstances concerning this summer's expedition, 1673, written by a person in command of the fleet, London, 1673, 4to. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 412, 417. See Memoirs in the reign of Charles II. by John duke of Buckinghamshire, in his Works, vol. ii. p. 28.

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The grand design of our court was the same this year that it had been the last, that is to say, to make a puissant descent on the Dutch coast; and, with this view, there were a considerable number of land-troops put on board the navy. His majesty and his royal highness the Duke of York visited the fleet on the 19th of May; and, in a council of war holden in their presence, it was peremptorily resolved to attack the enemy even upon their own coast, in case they could not be provoked to quit it. In pursuance of this determination, Prince Rupert stood over toward the coast of Holland; and found De Ruyter with the Dutch fleet, riding within the sands at Schonevelt, in a line between the Rand and the Stony-bank, which was a very advantageous situation; but, notwithstanding that, his highness persisted in his resolution of obeying the positive orders he had received for attacking them.*

On the 28th in the morning about nine o'clock, a detached squadron of thirty-five frigates and thirteen fire-ships were sent to draw the enemy out, which was very easily done; for De Ruyter presently advanced in good order, and, the English light ships retreating, put their own fleet in some disorder. This engagement happened on very unequal terms: the confederate fleet consisted of eighty-four men of war, besides fire-ships, divided into three squadrons, under the command of Prince Rupert, Count d'Estrees; and Sir Edward Spragge. The Dutch were scarcely seventy men of war and frigates, under De Ruyter, Tromp, and Bankert.†

Most of our own and the Dutch historians agree, that the English, to prevent the French from running away, as they did before, intermixed their ships in this battle with their own: but, in the account published under the direc-

* *La Vie De l'Amiral Ruyter*, p. ii. p. 103, 104, 105.

† Kennet's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 323. Echard's *History of England*, p. 893. *Annals of the Universe*, p. 300. Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 403. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 253.

tion of Prince Rupert, the thing is put in quite another light; for there it is said, that the French made little or no sail, but kept in the rear, though they saw the Dutch fleet stretch to the north. By twelve in the morning the detached squadron, before mentioned, engaged Van Tromp, and soon after the prince engaged De Ruyter almost two hours before the French began to fight at all. Then, says the same relation, Count d'Estrees engaged De Ruyter, but quickly left him; neither did De Ruyter follow,* but went to the assistance of Tromp, whom he very seasonably relieved, which put an end to the feuds which had been long subsisting between them.

The battle was very hard fought on both sides, inso-much that Tromp shifted his flag four times; from the Golden Lion to the Prince on Horseback, from the Prince on Horseback to the Amsterdam, and from the Amsterdam to the Comet, from on board which he dated his letter to the states in the evening. Sir Edward Spragge and the Earl of Ossory distinguished themselves on our side by their extraordinary courage and conduct. Prince Rupert also performed wonders, considering that his ship was in a very bad condition, and took in so much water at her ports, that she could not fire the guns of her lower tier. The battle lasted till night, and then the Dutch are said to have retired behind their sands.†

Both sides, however, claimed the victory: De Ruyter, in his letter to the Prince of Orange, says, "We judge

* An exact Relation of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert, p. 8, 9. Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 592. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 412. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. xv. p. 340. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iv. p. 270. La Vie De Ruyter, part ii. p. 103.

† His Highness Prince Rupert's Letter to the Earl of Arlington, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State, from on board the Royal Charles, off the Osterbank, the 29th of May, 1673, distant from East-capel seven leagues, at one of the clock, afternoon, the wind S. S. W. Published by authority, 1673, fol.

“ absolutely, that the victory is on the side of this state
 “ and of your highness.”* Tromp carried the matter
 farther, and reported the English to have lost ten or twelve
 ships. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the Earl of Arling-
 ton, says, “ I thought it best to cease the pursuit, and
 “ anchor where I now am.”† As to the slain on both
 sides in this battle, it is reported the Dutch lost Vice-
 admiral Schram, Rear-admiral Vlugh, and six of their
 captains, and had one ship disabled, which was lost in her
 retreat. On our side fell the Captains Fowls, Finch,
 Tempest, and Worden: Colonel Hamilton had his legs
 shot off, and we had only two ships disabled, none either
 sunk or taken.

The great doubt is as to the conduct of the French.
 Our writers are positive, that they behaved to the full as
 ill as they did before; but the Dutch authors say they
 fought very bravely. The truth seems to be, that the
 briskest of the French officers made it their choice to fight
 among the English, where they behaved very gallantly;
 while those remaining with the Count d’Estrees took a
 great deal of care to keep themselves and their ships safe:
 and yet they suffered more than either the English or
 Dutch; for they lost two men of war, and five or six fire-
 ships, which they knew not how to manage. The French
 writers are pretty even with us; for they report that mat-
 ters were but indifferently managed on both sides, and
 that Prince Rupert did not push things as far as he might,
 because he was averse from the war.‡ In one respect,
 the Dutch certainly had the advantage; since they pre-
 vented the descent intended upon their country, for which

* See his Letter to the Prince, date the 8th of June, 1673, in *la Vie De Ruyter*, part ii. p. 105.

† Letter to Lord Arlington, before cited, p. 3.

‡ Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 415. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 341. *Neuville Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iv. liv. xv. chap. 2. *Quincy Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. i. p. 354.

service, in case of a clear victory, Count Schomberg, with six thousand men, lay ready at Yarmouth.*

The Dutch, as they were upon their own coast, had the advantage of receiving quick and great supplies; whereas the wind prevented the English from obtaining the like advantages. Prince Rupert, however, did all that lay in his power, to put the fleet into a good condition; and believing that the Dutch would not be long before they endeavoured to make use of their advantages, he went on board the *Royal Sovereign* in the evening of the third of June, where he went not to bed all night.† His foresight was very requisite; for on the fourth in the morning, the Dutch fleet, by this time at least as strong as the confederates, bore down upon them as fast as the wind would permit. Sir Edward Spragge had so little notion of their fighting, that taking the brave Earl of Ossory, his rear-admiral, with him, he went in his boat on board the admiral; which lost a great deal of time.‡

As for Prince Rupert, he was so much in earnest, that finding his ship's crew, which was but indifferent, raised his anchors very slowly, he ordered his cables to be cut, that he might make haste to meet the Dutch.

Count d'Estrees, with the white squadron, betrayed no such great willingness to fight, as both our own and the Dutch writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of harm's way. At last, about five in the evening, Spragge and Tromp engaged with great fury. As for De Ruyter, he shewed at first a design of coming to a close engagement with the prince: but before he came within musket-

* Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 402. Memoirs in the Reign of Charles II. by John duke of Buckinghamshire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 29.; his grace served in the expedition. Kennet, Echard, and other writers. Basnage, Le Clerc, Neuville, and the rest of the Dutch historians.

† An Exact Relation of the Actions of the Fleet, &c. p. 9, 10.

‡ La Vie de l'Amiral Ruyter, part ii. p. 129. The Dutch valued themselves much on this surprize.

shot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had suffered some considerable damage. Spragge, in the mean time, had forced Tromp to sheer off. He then fell into vice-admiral Sweers's division, which he soon put to confusion; and had a third engagement with Tromp, wherein he shot down his flag. The battle lasted till between ten and eleven at night, and then the Dutch stood to the south-east, and so it ended.*

Both sides claimed the victory as before. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the Earl of Arlington, says expressly, "that he pursued the Dutch from two till six the next morning, and seeing no likelihood of reaching them, before they got within their sands, thought a farther pursuit needless." He likewise adds, "that they went away in great disorder, though he could not tell certainly what loss they had received." This is not altogether irreconcilable to De Ruyter's letter, wherein he also claims the victory. "The next day," says he, "we saw the enemies were gone; and doubt not but they made to the Thames; we satisfied ourselves with pursuing them half-way, and then returned to our former station."† In the same letter, however, he owns that they began their retreat as soon as it was dark. The loss on both sides was pretty equal, but was very far from being considerable on either. Admiral Van Tromp, however, was so ill satisfied with the conduct of Vice-admiral Sweers, that he accused him to the states.‡ Some of the

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 592. Annals of the Universe, p. 301. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 419. His lordship says this was a pure bravado of the Dutch, which they had not the courage to execute equal to their design, and consequently would not stay to be better beaten than they were. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 415.

† See Prince Rupert's Letter, before cited. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 323. See Monsieur De Ruyter's Letter to the States, dated June 17, 1673, in la Vie De Ruyter, part ii. p. 130.

‡ Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. xv. p. 342. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 416. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iv. liv. xv. chap. 2. Leven Van Tromp, p. 440.

Dutch and French writers pretend, that Prince Rupert did not distinguish himself on that occasion as he used to do; for which they suggest reasons void of all foundation.*

The truth is, the prince was for fighting the enemy again; but it was carried in a council of war to sail for the English coast, in order to obtain supplies, as well of ammunition as provision; through want of which a great many captains complained loudly. Besides, the fleet was so poorly manned, that if it had not been for the land-forces on board, they could not have fought at all: and these being for the most part new raised men, we need not wonder they did not behave so well as our old-seasoned sailors were wont to do. On the eighth of June, the fleet arrived at the Buoy in the Nore; and on the fourteenth Prince Rupert went to London, in order to give the king an account of the condition things were in, and to press for such necessary supplies as might enable him to put to sea again without delay.†

The Dutch, in the mean time, to countenance the pretences they made after the two last battles to victory, and, which was of much greater consequence, to raise the spirits of the people at such a conjuncture, when the very being of the republic was at stake; gave out, that their fleet should speedily put to sea again, and attempt some great thing. Insulting the English coast was sometimes mentioned; and then again, the losses they had lately sustained from the French, induced them to think of revenge on that side; and taking some maritime town in France, which might oblige king Lewis to abandon the siege of Maestricht, or incline him to give it up by way of exchange. But while they were amusing themselves and De Ruyter with these proposals, they were informed that

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 416. Quincy *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. i. p. 355.

† Lord Arlington's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 420. An *Exact Relation*, &c. p. 10, 11.

Maestricht was already taken, and that the combined fleet was likewise ready to put to sea; so that all these grand schemes vanished at once, and they were forced to attend to their old business of defending their own coasts, and protecting their commerce. *

About the middle of the month of July, Prince Rupert was at sea, having on board the troops intended for a descent, which was still pressed by the real authors of the war. His highness arrived on the Dutch coasts on the twenty-first of the said month; and declining an engagement, stood along the shore, in order to find an opportunity for debarking his troops. On the ninth of August, he took a Dutch East India ship richly laden. This induced De Ruyter to fight; and, therefore, he immediately bore down upon the English fleet. † As soon as his highness perceived it, he commanded the French a particular course, and had thereby an opportunity of discerning what he was to expect from them in a time of action. They lay by twice that night; first about eleven o'clock, when the prince sent to Count d'Estrees to order him to make sail, which he did till about one o'clock, and then laid his sail to the mast again, which gave a second stop to the fleet, and obliged the prince to send him another message. In those days, when party-spirit ran very high, no body ever suspected the Count d'Estrees's courage, which was so well known, and so thoroughly established, as clearly to decypher his orders.

A.D.
1673.

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 418. Le Clerc, tom. iii. liv. 15. Neuville, tom. iv. liv. xv. chap. 3, 4, 6. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 420.

† Philips's *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 592. Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 422. Echard's *History of England*, p. 894. Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 403. *A Relation of the Engagement of his Majesty's Fleet with the Enemy's on the 11th of August, 1673*, as it has been represented by Letters from the several Squadrons. Published by authority, 1673, fol.

These delays gave the Dutch admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect; but, early on the eleventh of August, bore down upon the confederates, as if he meant to force them to a battle; upon which his highness thought fit to tack, and thereby brought the fleet into good order. He put the French in the van, himself in the center, and Sir Edward Spragge in the rear; and in this disposition the French lay fair to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, they neglected.* The English fleet consisted of about sixty men of war and frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of seventy or thereabouts; so that the royal fleets were indisputably superiour to that of the republic. †

De Ruyter, bearing down with his fleet in three squadrons, prepared to attack the prince himself, while Tromp engaged Spragge and the blue squadron, in which the English admiral obliged him, by laying his fore-top-sail to his mast, in order to stay for him, contrary to the express order of the prince. This fondness for a point of honour proved fatal to himself, as well as disadvantageous to the fleet. Bankert, with his Zealand squadron, should have engaged the white, commanded by d'Estrees; but it seems the Dutch understood their temper better than to give themselves much trouble about them; for Bankert contented himself with sending eight men of war and three fire-ships to attack the rear-admiral De Martel, who seemed to be the only man that had any real design to fight; and then the rest of the Zealand squadron united themselves to De Ruyter, and fell together upon Prince Rupert. ‡

* An Exact Relation of the Actions of the English Fleet under the command of Prince Rupert, p. 13.

† *Columna Rostrata*, p. 242. Quincy *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. i. p. 359. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 420.

‡ An Exact Relation, &c. p. 14. Le Clerc *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 343, 344. *La Vie De Ruyter*, part ii. p. 152.

Rear-admiral De Martel, being left not only by the body of the French fleet, but even by the captains of his own division, was attacked by five Dutch ships at once. He fought them for two hours, and that with such courage and success, that having disabled one, the rest were glad to sheer off, and he rejoined the white squadron; where, expostulating with the captains of his own division for deserting him so basely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the admiral not to observe his motions: and indeed, after he was in the fleet, though some opportunities offered, he thought no more of fighting, and, on his return to France, was sent to the Bastile for what he had done. *

The battle between De Ruyter and the red squadron began about eight o'clock in the morning, and a multitude of circumstances concurred to threaten the English admiral with inevitable ruin. The French, not satisfied with being mere spectators of a very unequal combat from the beginning, suffered the ships, which had attacked De Martel, to pass quietly to their own fleet; so that now De Ruyter's and Bankert's squadrons were both upon the red. Sir Edward Spragge, intent on his personal quarrel with Van Tromp, had fallen to the leeward several leagues with the blue squadron; and to complete Prince Rupert's misfortune, the enemy found means to intercept his own rear-admiral, Sir John Chichele, with his division; so that by noon his highness was wholly surrounded by the Dutch, being pressed by De Ruyter and his division on his lee-quarter, an admiral with two flags more on his weather-quarter, and the Zealand squadron on his broadside to windward. Thus the Dutch wisely employed their force against the enemy that would fight, and took no more

* The Relation before cited, p. 15. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 76. Echard's History of England, p. 894. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 423. We shall examine this more fully when we come to speak of the consequences of this battle.

notice of the French fleet, than the French did of them, or of Prince Rupert. *

His highness, in the midst of these disappointments, behaved with such intrepidity, and encouraged all his officers so effectually by his own example, that, by degrees he cleared himself of his enemies; rejoined Sir John Chichele; and by two o'clock had time to think of the blue squadron, which was now at three leagues distance; and, not hearing their guns well plied, he made all the sail he could towards them, in order to unite with and relieve them. De Ruyter, perceiving his highness's design, left firing, and bore away also with his whole force to the assistance of Tromp; so that both fleets ran down side by side within range of cannon-shot, and yet without firing on either part. About four the prince joined the blue squadron, which he found in a very tattered condition. †

At the beginning of the fight, Tromp in the *Golden Lion*, and Sir Edward Spragge in the *Royal Prince*, fought ship to ship. The Dutch admiral, however, would not come to a close fight, which gave him a great advantage; for Spragge, who had more than his complement on board, suffered much by the enemy's cannon, and, having the wind and smoke in his face, could not make so good use of his own, as he would otherwise have done. After three hours warm fight, the *Royal Prince* was so disabled, that Sir Edward was forced to go on board the *St. George*; and Tromp quitted his *Golden Lion* to hoist his flag on board the *Comet*, where the battle was renewed with incredible fury. We have in respect of this, and it is to be

* The exact relation, &c. In this piece we have not only the most authentic, but I believe the only authentic account of this engagement, now extant. Prince Rupert's letters were usually published, but what he wrote on this occasion was not judged convenient for the people's perusal. The Dutch narrations were calculated to serve a turn, and that penned by M. de Martel for the information of the French king, was for many good reasons suppressed.

† Philips, Kennet, Burchet. *Annals of the Universe*, p. 302.

wished we had of every battle, a distinct relation of what was performed by each squadron, very particular and clear; and, from the relation of the blue squadron, compared with Prince Rupert's, these facts are collected.

The great aim of the Dutch admiral was, to take or sink the Royal Prince: but the earl of Ossory, and Sir John Kempthorne, together with Spragge himself, so effectually protected the disabled vessel, that none of the enemy's fire-ships could come near her, though this was often attempted. At last, the St. George being terribly torn, and in a manner disabled, Sir Edward Spragge designed to go on board a third ship, the Royal Charles; but, before he was got ten boats length, a shot, which passed through the St. George took his boat; and though they immediately rowed back, yet, before they could get within reach of the ropes that were thrown out from the St. George, the boat sunk, and Sir Edward was drowned.*

When Prince Rupert drew near the blue squadron, he found the admiral disabled, the vice-admiral lying to the windward, mending his sails and rigging; the rear-admiral a-stern of the Royal Prince, between her and the enemy, bending his new sails, and mending his rigging. The first thing his highness did, was to send two frigates to take the Royal Prince in tow. He then steered in between the enemy and the lame ships, and perceiving that Tromp had tacked, and was coming down again upon the blue squadron, he made a signal for all the ships of that squadron to join him: but it was in vain; for, except the two flags, Sir John Kempthorne and the earl of Ossory, there was not one in a condition to move. The French still continued to look on with all the coolness imaginable;

* Parker's History of his own Time, p. 156. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 324. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 420. Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 343. De Neuville, tom. iv. p. 300, 301. La Vie De Ruyter, p. ii. p. 152.

and notwithstanding the prince put out the blue flag upon the mizen-peek, which was the signal to attack, set down in the general instructions for fighting, and known not only to all the English captains but also to those of the white squadron; yet they remained, as before, wholly inactive. But, to give some kind of colour to this conduct, the Count d'Estrees, after the battle was in a manner over, sent to know what this signal meant. *

About five in the evening, De Ruyter, with all his flags and fleet, came close up with the prince, and then began a very sharp engagement. His highness had none to second him but the vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the blue, Sir John Harman, Captain Davis, and Captain Stout, of his own division, Sir John Holmes in the *Rupert*, Captain Legge in the *Royal Katharine*, Sir John Berry in the *Resolution*, Sir John Ernle in the *Henry*, Sir Roger Strickland in the *Mary*, and Captain Carter in the *Crown*; in all about thirteen ships. The engagement was very close and bloody till about seven o'clock, when his highness forced the Dutch fleet into great disorder, and sent in two fire-ships amongst them to increase it, at the same time making a signal for the French to bear down; which, even then, if they had done, a total defeat must have followed: but, as they took no notice of it, and the prince saw that most of his ships were not in any condition to keep the sea long, he wisely provided for their

* An Exact Relation, &c. p. 18, 19. where it affirmed, that Count d'Estrees sent this message after night had parted the fleets. The officer who wrote that account says very judiciously, that the sending to inquire the meaning of the signal was cunningly done: but one of De Ruyter's sailors seems to have had as much penetration as the French ministry had artifice; for, upon one of his companions asking him what the French meant by keeping at such a distance, "Why, you fool," said he, "they have hired the English to fight for them; and all their business here, is to see that they earn their wages." So transparent to honest men are the boasted politics of this court!

safety, by making with an easy sail toward our own coasts. *

This battle ended as doubtfully as any of the rest; for the Dutch very loudly claimed the victory now, as they did before, and with full as much reason. The truth is, it seems to have been a drawn battle; since the Dutch, notwithstanding all their advantages, did not take or sink a single English man-of-war, and killed but two captains, Sir William Reeves and Captain Havard, besides our gallant Admiral Sir Edward Spragge, and no great number of private men. On their side, they lost two vice-admirals, Sweers and Liefde, three captains, and about one thousand private men. The consequences, indeed, which, from the prudence of the admiral, they drew from this battle, were exceedingly great; for they opened their ports, which before were entirely blocked up, and put an end to all thoughts, by removing the possibility of an invasion. †

It would be equally unsatisfactory and unjust to conclude this account of the last battle fought in this last Dutch war, without taking particular notice of the grounds upon which I have represented the conduct of the French in so bad a light. I must in the first place declare, that I have no intention to asperse the nation in general, much less to injure the particular character of the noble person who commanded, and who afterwards gave signal proofs of his true courage, and able conduct, as a sea-officer; as in this engagement he gave undoubtedly the highest demonstration of his steadiness in obeying orders. Those I blame are such as drew up his instructions, and consequently were alone answerable for his behaviour. The

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 754. Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

† Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 420. Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 345. Quincy, tom. i. p. 359. Neuville, tom. iii. liv. xv. chap. vi. La Vie De Ruyter, tom. ii. p. 157—159.

French were and are a brave nation³; but it has been their great misfortune to suffer by perfidious ministers, who have broken their national faith, both in war and peace, so often, that it is in a manner become proverbial, like the *fides Punica* of old. For the truth of what I have advanced in the present case, I have the testimony of friends and enemies, nay of themselves too, which I think is sufficient to put the matter out of doubt. The conduct of Lewis XIV. is thus represented by honest Andrew Marvel. He first practised the same art at sea, when he was in league with the Hollanders against us, his navy having never done them any service; for his business was only to see us batter each other. Now he was on the English side, his business was to sound our seas, to spy our ports, to learn our building, to contemplate our manner of fighting, to consume ours, to preserve his own navy, to increase his commerce, and to order all things so, that the two great naval powers of Europe being crushed together, he might remain arbitrator of the ocean.

This behaviour was complained of by Prince Rupert in such strong terms, that his letter was suppressed; though at other times his accounts, which were constantly very plain and very modest, were instantly published.* All the Dutch writers agree in giving the same account; and indeed, if they did not, the conduct of their admirals might sufficiently justify this to have been their sense of the thing; since it is impossible to conceive, that Admiral Bankert would have sent eight small ships to attack a squadron of thirty large ones, if from their former conduct, and their countenance then, he had not been well assured that fighting was not much their business.†

* *Columna Rostrata*, p. 243. *Secret History of Europe*, *History of the Dutch War*.

† *Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 423. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. p. 344, 345. *Neuville*, tom. iv. p. 302.

Lastly; poor Admiral Martel, who was too much a man of honour to be in the French minister's secrets, wrote a fair relation of the battle, and sent it to the French court, concluding with these words: "That if Count d'Estrees
 " would have fallen in with a fair wind upon De Ruyter
 " and Bankert, at their first engaging, when in numbers
 " they much exceeded the prince; they must of necessity
 " have been inclosed between his highness and d'Estrees,
 " and so the enemy would have been entirely defeated." *

Soon after this battle, the English fleet came into the Thames, and the French squadron, about the middle of September, sailed home; but suffered so much by a storm, that it was the middle of November before they reached Brest. When Prince Rupert returned to court, he joined his representations to those of our worthy patriots, who were desirous that peace, as soon as possible, should be restored, to which the king was, at this time, no longer averse. There had, through the mediation of Sweden, been some conferences holden at Cologne; but they had not proved so effectual as was expected: the States-General also had written to his majesty, but in terms that, instead of making things better, had rather widened the breach. After this battle, however, they condescended to write another letter, wherein they shewed their earnest desire of peace, and their true sense of the obstacles which had hitherto retarded it. †

In this letter they spoke very freely to the king of his ministers and of his ally; they shewed him how glorious,

* Exact Relation, &c. p. 17. P. Daniel slurs over all these battles in his *Histoire de la Milice Francoise*, tom. ii. p. 489, and again in his *Histoire de France*, tom. x. p. 111, he crowds the three battles into a paragraph of so many lines, and says, they were fought with little order, and small regard to reputation, by all parties.

† Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. ii. p. 458—469, where these letters are inserted. The earl of Shaftsbury was now disgraced, the earl of Arlington was inclined to pacific measures, and the king soon saw this was his true interest.

as well as how advantageous a step a separate peace must prove, which would give umbrage only to the French, and content to all the great powers of Europe beside : and further to incline his majesty to this, they suggested the base and insidious behaviour of his allies in the late sea-fights, and the offers that had been already made them by France of a separate peace, without any respect had to his majesty. These, with the propounding of fair conditions, had such a weight with the king, that he proposed the terms offered to his parliament ; and, on their passing a vote, “ humbly desiring him to proceed in a treaty with “ the States, in order to a speedy peace ;” he directed Sir William Temple to negotiate with the marquis Del Fresno, the Spanish ambassador, who was provided with full powers from the States-General for that purpose ; and, at three meetings, the treaty was concluded and signed, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. *

A.D.
1673.

While this treaty was upon the carpet at home, there happened an accident in the Mediterranean, which though of little consequence in itself, yet, from certain circumstances that attended it, deserves to be recorded. The Dutch admiral Evertz, being in those seas with his squadron, it happened that Captain De Witte, in a man of war called the *Schaerlaes*, which carried thirty-six pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty men, met with Captain Harman, in the *Tyger*, a small English frigate which had been careening at Tangier, and came with him into the harbour of Cadiz, where the Dutchman also careened. The Spaniards jesting with Captain

* Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 459—467. Sir William Temple's Letters to the Prince of Orange, to the Duke of Florence, and to Sir John Temple, in his Works, vol. ii. p. 288—292, 294. Bishop Parker's History of his own Time, p. 159. Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 236. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 458—470, 498. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. liv. xv. p. 338. Neuville Histoire de Hollande, tom. iv. lib. xv. chap. x. p. 333.

De Witte, and telling him that he durst not fight the English captain, and that this made them so good friends; Admiral Evertz heard it, and thereupon told De Witte, that he must, for the honour of his nation, challenge Captain Harman. He did so; and his admiral lent him, that he might come off with glory, sixty mariners and seventy soldiers. Captain Harman had but one hundred and eighty-four men in all; however, at a day's notice he stood to sea, and fairly engaged the Dutch frigate, in sight of the town. *

Their ships were within pistol-shot before either of them fired; and then Captain Harman's broadside brought the Dutchman's main-mast by the board, and killed and wounded him fourscore men. The English captain followed his advantage, entered the enemy's vessel with his resolute crew, and became master of the ship in an hour's time; but she was quite disabled, and had one hundred and forty men in her killed and wounded. The English had only nine killed, and fifteen wounded; amongst whom was their brave captain, by a musket-shot, which went in at his left eye, and out between the ear and the jaw-bone; of which wound he was well cured, and lived several years after. † Thus the maritime powers, though their interest was and must ever be the same, did their utmost, from false notions of honour, to destroy each other and answer the ends of their common enemy; till the voice of the people, both in England and Holland, roused their governors to a just sense of their common danger, and procured thereby an alliance which has lasted ever since.

* Lord Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 470, where his lordship, then secretary of state, takes notice to Sir William Godolphin, our ambassador at the court of Madrid, that his majesty had been acquainted with Captain Harman's behaviour, and was extremely pleased with it.

† Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 595.

A.D.
1674.

This treaty of peace was signed at London, February 9, 1674, and thereby those differences were all adjusted, which had so often and so long disturbed both states. * In the first place, the business of the flag was regulated according to the king's sense of his rights, which the States, till now, would never admit. In their treaty with Cromwell, they did indeed stipulate, that their ships should salute the English; but then this was expressed in such loose terms, as afforded the Dutch room to suggest, that the doing it was no more than a point of civility. As the treaties of 1662, 1667, and 1668, were all, in a manner, built on this sandy foundation, the case had been hitherto the same, and asserted so to be by the States: but now the thing was put out of all dispute; and what was before styled courtesy, was here confessed to be a right. The extent of the British seas were particularly mentioned; and the States undertook, that not only separate ships, but whole fleets, should strike their sails to any fleet, or single ship, carrying the king's flag, as the custom was, in the days of his ancestors.†

The East India trade was likewise settled so as to prevent subsequent debates, and not leave either party at liberty to encroach upon the other. As to lesser matters, commissioners were to meet on both sides at London to decide them; and in case they did not agree in the period of three months, then the queen of Spain was to arbitrate. Such of the planters as had been restrained by the Dutch at Surinam were to be left at their full liberty to retire, if they thought fit, with their effects. Places taken on both sides were by this treaty to be restored; and the

* See the Proposals from the States-General to the king of Great Britain, printed by authority, 1675, 4to. Life of Sir William Temple, p. 200. Corps Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. p. i. p. 253.

† The whole of this matter is very judiciously explained by Bishop Parker in his History of his own Time, p. 159; and the intire article is to be found in the proposals made by the states themselves, which shews how great a point was carried in the concluding this treaty.

states general were to pay his majesty eight hundred thousand patacoons at four payments; the first, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, and the other three, by annual payments.

By a particular treaty it was agreed, that the English regiments in the French service should be suffered to wear out for want of recruits; and by a secret article, it was settled, that neither side should assist the enemies of the other either by land or sea.* We may guess how acceptable this treaty was to the states, by the present made to the Spanish ambassador for negotiating it; which was sixteen thousand crowns, and the gratification of six thousand, which were given to Don Bernardo de Salinas.† Thus ended the last of our Dutch wars; which, though made against the interest and will of the people, terminated highly to their advantage; whereas the former war, though it was begun at the instance of the nation, ended but indifferently; so little correspondence is there between the grounds and issues of things.‡

* I take what I have here given the reader from a very accurate and authentic writer, who has left us the best political memoirs of Europe that are extant; I mean the *sieur du Mont* in his *Memoires pour Servir a l'Histoire de la Paix de Ryswick*, tom. ii. p. 272, &c.

† *Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. p. 499. *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. iii. liv. 15. *Neuville Histoire de Hollande*, tom. iv. p. 333. It is proper to observe, that, though the treaty was negociated by Sir William Temple, it was not signed by him, but by the following committee of council; viz. the lord-keeper Finch, the lord-treasurer Latimer, afterwards earl of Danby, and duke of Leeds, the duke of Monmouth, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Arlington and Secretary Coventry.

‡ In consequence of this, a treaty of commerce was concluded between his majesty and the states-general at London, Dec. 1, 1674; by the eighth article of which, in pursuance of former treaties, free ships were to make free goods, which has made great noise of late. Upon this article two remarks may be made: First, That at this time it was in our favour; so that the king or his ministers were not over-reached: Secondly, This clause extends only to such places as either party might trade to in time of peace; but in time of peace the

A.D. 1675. The corsairs of Tripoli having for some time committed great outrages on the English trade, Sir John Narborough was sent, in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reason. The 14th of January following, Sir John came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, so that no ship could go in or come out; he manned all his boats, and sent them under the command of Lieutenant Shovel, afterwards Sir Cloudesley, the famous admiral, into the harbour, where he seized the guardship, and afterwards burnt the following vessels, which were all that lay at that time in the harbour; viz. the White Eagle crowned, a fifty gun ship; the Looking-glass, which carried thirty-six; the Santa Clara of twenty-four; and a French vessel of twenty; after which, he safely returned to the fleet without the loss of a single man. This extraordinary action struck the Tripolines with amazement, and made them instantly sue for peace; which, however, did not immediately take place, because they absolutely refused to make good the losses sustained by the English. Sir John thereupon cannonaded the town; and, finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vast magazine of timber, which was to have served for the building of ships. When all this failed of reducing these people, Sir John sailed to Malta; and, after remaining there for some time, returned suddenly upon the enemy, and distressed them so much, that they were glad to submit to a peace on the terms prescribed.*

However, soon after the conclusion of this treaty, some of their corsairs, returning into port, not only expressed a great dislike thereto, but actually deposed the Dey for

Dutch were not allowed to trade to the French islands; and, therefore, by this treaty they can claim no such liberty in time of war.

* Kennet's complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 335. Annals of the Universe, p. 331, 347. Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. part i. p. 319.

making it; and, without any regard thereto, began to take all English ships as before. Sir John remaining still in the Mediterranean, and having immediate notice of what passed, suddenly appeared with eight frigates before Tripoli; and began with such violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and deliver up the authors of the late disturbance to condign punishment. *

In 1679, we had some differences with the Algerines on account of their making prize of English ships, under pretence that they were not furnished with proper passes. Upon this Sir John Narborough was sent with a squadron to demand satisfaction; which he procured, as it must always be procured, by dint of force. This peace, however, did not last long; for, in a year or two, they committed the like outrages: upon which, Commodore Herbert, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of earl of Torrington; went thither with a few ships, and compelled them to make satisfaction for what had passed, and to give the strongest assurances of their acting in another manner for the future. That expedition, which was performed in 1682, proved the last in this reign. †

A.D.
1679.

There is yet one transaction more which calls for our notice, and that is, the demolition of the strong and expensive fortress of Tangier. We have already shewn how that place came into the hands of the English, and what pains were taken to preserve it. In the period of twenty years it cost the nation an immense sum of money; and yet many doubted, all things considered, whether, after all, it were of any real use to us or not. When we first had it, the harbour was very dangerous; to remedy which, there was a fine mole run out at a vast charge.

A.D.
1679.

* *Columna Rostrata*, p. 252.

† *Annals of the Universe*, p. 269, 278. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 252. *Burchet's Naval History*, p. 404, 405.

Several societies, or copartnerships, which undertook to perfect this work, raised great sums for that purpose; and, after wasting them, miscarried. At last, however, all difficulties were in a manner overcome, and this work finished in such a manner, that it might be said to vie with those of the Romans. But the house of commons, in 1680, having expressed a dislike to the management of the garrison kept there, which they suspected to be no better than a nursery for a Popish army; and discovering, withal, no thoughts of providing for it any longer, the king began, likewise, to entertain thoughts of quitting and destroying it, and of bringing home his forces thence. He endeavoured to keep this as secret as possible; however, the Lord Arlington is said to have given some hint of his majesty's intention to the Portuguese ambassador, who expressed great discontent thereat; and was very desirous that it should be again delivered into the hands of his master.

A.D.
1683.

But King Charles doubting, not without reason, whether the king of Portugal would be able to maintain the possession of it against the Moors; and foreseeing the terrible consequences of such a port falling into their hands, notwithstanding the offer of large sums, persisted steadily in his first resolution. In 1683, the lord Dartmouth was constituted captain-general of his majesty's forces in Africa, and governor of Tangier; and sent, as admiral of an English fleet, to demolish the works, blow up the mole, and, bring home the garrison; all which he very effectually performed: so that the harbour is, at this time, entirely spoiled; and, though now in the hands of the Moors, is a very inconsiderable place. One circumstance attending its demolition deserves to be remarked, because it shews the temper and spirit of the king. He directed a considerable number of new-coined crown-pieces to be buried in the ruins, that if, through the vicissitudes of fortune, to which all sublunary things are liable, this city should ever be

restored, there might remain some memorial of its having had once the honour of depending on the crown of Britain. Thus, through disputes between the king and parliament, whatever party-suspensions might suggest, the British nation lost a place and port of great importance. *

It is on all hands confessed, that never any English, perhaps I might, without distinction of countries, say, any prince, understood maritime concerns so well as Charles II. He piqued himself very much on making, as occasion offered, minute inquiries into whatever regarded naval affairs: he understood ship-building perfectly, and made draughts of vessels with his own hands; † he was no stranger to the conveniencies and inconveniencies of every port in his dominions. He listened to proposals for making a yard, dock, and arsenal, at Christchurch in Hampshire. ‡ He once intended to restore and improve the haven at Dover. § He caused a survey of Guernsey to be made; and had actually the plan drawn, of a harbour, mole, and citadel, which were to have been constructed in that island; and which would have been all of infinite use and benefit to this nation: || but he was so expensive in his pleasures; the jealousies raised against him were so strong; he was so much in the hands of

* Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 376, 408. Echard, p. 994, 1040. Burchet, p. 405.

† See the Duke of Buckingham's Character of Charles II. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 146. Bishop of Rochester's History of the Royal Society, p. 149, 150.

‡ Captain Yarranton's England's Improvement, vol. i. p. 41. If the Clarendon Interest had continued, this, which was once strongly in contemplation, would probably have been carried also into execution.

§ A Discourse of Sea-ports, principally of the Port and Haven of Dover; written by Sir W. Raleigh, and addressed to Queen Elizabeth. To which is added, proposals and remarks upon the same subject, written by command of Charles II. London, 1700, 4to.

|| The Rev. Mr. Falle's Account of Jersey in the Introduction, from the Memoirs of the Sieur De Saumarez.

favourites and mistresses; he was so frequently and so egregiously betrayed by both; and his finances, through his whole reign, were so cramped, and in such disorder; that he was not able to accomplish any one of these great designs; which, nevertheless, it is not improper should be here succinctly remembered.

But, in respect of the royal navy, which through his whole reign claimed his peculiar attention, he was more fortunate. On his entering into possession of his kingdoms, it was commonly believed, from the fine appearance of the squadron that convoyed him from Holland, that his marine was in excellent order; and, for reasons of state, the king himself encouraged and confirmed that opinion: but the fact, notwithstanding this, was quite otherwise. After the death of Cromwell, the funds for the fleet were diverted to various other purposes; the stores were in a great measure exhausted, in fitting out Admiral Montague's squadron to the Baltic; the small remains of arms and ammunition were issued, by the rump, for suppressing Sir George Booth; the confusions that ensued, gave opportunities to embezzle what little matter was left; and there remained no authority to restrain, much less to repair, these mischiefs. This accounts for the king's finding things, in reference to the fleet and ordnance, in so weak and defenceless a condition; and explains likewise his conduct in covering it as carefully as it was possible, to prevent either domestic or foreign enemies, of both which he had enough, from availing themselves of this his weak and distressed situation. It was to conceal this that he demanded nothing from parliament; but, putting both departments into the hands of those in whom he could entirely confide; supplying them, from time to time, with such sums as he could borrow; he, with much silence, and secrecy, rectified all things; so that, at the opening of the first Dutch war in his reign, the navy and ordnance were both in perfect order; and all parts of the service

provided for in an ample and regular manner.* But though this was truly the state of ships and stores at his restoration, yet, in respect to men, it was far otherwise. The sailors were numerous, brave, and well-disciplined: as to commanders of every rank, no navy was ever better furnished, as they had been picked by the long parliament, trained under Blake, Monk, and Ayscue; inured to hardships, flushed with victories, covetous of honour: the superior officers were all of distinguished merit, and abundance of very able men employed therein. It must likewise be confessed, to the honour of his government, that he preserved them in their several posts, without any respect of party: which, without question, contributed not a little to the increase of our naval power.†

How intent he was, for the first ten years of his reign, in promoting whatever had a tendency this way, appears from all the candid histories of those times; from the collections of orders; and other public papers relating to the direction of the navy while the duke of York was admiral, published of late years, and in every body's hands;‡ and, in a short and narrow compass; from the speech made by the lord-keeper Bridgeman; who affirmed, that, from 1660 to 1670, the charge of the navy had never amounted to less than half a million a-year.§ But, after

* Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, p. 146, where the reader may meet with an ample, accurate, and authentic account of this matter.

† Such as Sir George Ayscue, Sir William Batten, Sir John Lawson, Sir Richard Stayner, Sir William Penn, and many others.

‡ The title of this book is, *Memoirs of the English Affairs, chiefly naval, from the Year 1660 to 1673*, by His Royal Highness James Duke of York. London, 1729, 8vo.

§ *Happy Future State of England*, by Sir Peter Pett, p. 185: The design of this speech was to induce the house of commons to grant a supply for this particular service of increasing the royal navy; and, after having shewn the great importance of such a proceeding, his lordship goes on thus: "My lords and gentlemen, his majesty is confident, that you will not be contented to see him deprived of

the second Dutch war, the king grew more saving in this article; and yet, in 1678, when the nation in general expected a war with France, his navy was in excellent order. The judicious Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty, has left us a particular account of its state in the month of August that year; which, as it is very short, I think it may not be amiss to insert it.*

ABSTRACT OF THE FLEET.

<i>Rates.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
1	5	5135
2	4	1555
3	16	5010
4	33	6460
5	12	1460
6	7	423
Fire-ships	6	340
Total..83		18323

Of these seventy-six were in sea-pay; the store-houses and magazines were in complete order; and, which is still more to the purpose, thirty capital ships were then actually in building, eleven newly launched, and nineteen upon the stocks; and that the reader may frame a just notion of the increase of the navy, during this part of the king's reign, I must observe, that, at mid-summer, 1660, the whole fleet

“ all the advantages which he might procure hereby to his kingdoms,
 “ may, even to all Christendom, in the repose and quiet of it; that
 “ you will not be content alone to see your neighbours strengthening
 “ themselves in shipping so much more than they were before, and
 “ at home to see the government struggling every year with dif-
 “ ficulties, and not able to keep up our navies equal with theirs.
 “ He finds that, by his accounts from the year 1660 to the late war,
 “ the ordinary charge of the fleet, *communibus annis*, came to about
 “ five hundred thousand pounds a year; and it cannot be supported
 “ with less.”

* Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy for ten Years, by Samuel Pepys, Esq. p. 6.

of the nation consisted but of sixty-five vessels of all sizes, as appears by an original letter under the hand of Mr. Secretary Coventry.* But, after this period of time, I mean from the date of the list, the king finding himself extremely distressed at home, and, consequently, in a situation perplexed enough abroad; was persuaded, or rather compelled, to alter the management of his navy; which he did in 1679, in order to make himself easy in his civil government; Sir Anthony Deane, Mr. Pepys, and several other old officers of the navy, having been so unfortunate to incur the displeasure of the House of Commons, by whom they were committed.†

This new administration, with respect of naval affairs, subsisted for about five years; and, if it had continued five years longer, would, in all probability, have remedied even the numerous and mighty evils it had introduced, by wearing out the whole royal navy, and so leaving no room for future mistakes. It was a just sense of this that induced the king, in 1684, to resume the management of the fleet into his own hands, to restore again most of the old officers, and to undertake the bringing things once more into order: but before any considerable progress could be made in so great a work, his majesty died, and left the care of it to his successor.‡

The trade of the nation I have heretofore shewed to have been in a very declining situation at the time of the Restoration; I have also observed, that it was much helped by several treaties of peace made soon after; § and though I am far from denying, that, through the king's too strict intercourse with France, his running counter, in many respects, to the interests as well as inclinations of

* *Memoirs of English Affairs, chiefly Naval*, p. 12.

† *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons*, printed for Richard Chandler, vol. i. p. 260.

‡ *Memoirs of the Royal Navy, by Mr. Pepys*, p. 10.

§ See p. 317, 325.

his best subjects, and that dissolute spirit of luxury and corruption, which, if not introduced, was at least countenanced and encouraged by the king's temper and practice, might hinder our trade from reaching that height which otherwise it would have done. *

Yet, upon the whole, I am fully persuaded, that, during his whole reign, we were very great gainers thereby; and this, I think, I can make clearly appear. In the first place, the former Dutch war was most certainly undertaken for the sake of trade; nor can it be conceived, that in the second, the Dutch would have pushed as they did, from any other motive than an apprehension that, from rivals, we should become their superiours in commerce; to which, from the very genius of their state, they could not patiently submit. In the next place, let us consider the mighty losses sustained in the course of fifteen years by the plague, the fire of London, and the two Dutch wars. They have been computed, by men much better skilled in political arithmetic than I pretend to be, at little less than twenty-seven millions. †

But supposing them to have amounted only to twenty millions, the nation must have been reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty and distress, if she had not been relieved by the vast profits of her foreign trade. This it was that repaired the loss of our people in a surprising manner; raised the city of London, like a Phoenix, brighter and more beautiful for having been in flames; and increased

* The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, written by Slingsby Bethel, Esq. who, in the latter end of the treatise, does justice to this king's administration in respect to commerce. *Coke's Detection of the four last Reigns*, p. iv. p. 205.

† By Sir William Petty in his *Political Arithmetic*, who without question understood the grounds of that art as well as ever any man did. Dr. Davenant also was of the same mind, and says expressly, that these losses might be computed at between twenty-four and twenty-seven millions. *Discourses on the Public Revenue and Trade of England*, vol. ii. p. 44.

our shipping to double what it was at the time of the king's coming in. These are facts agreed on by the greatest men that ever handled subjects of this nature, grounded on such evidence as could not deceive them; and justified by effects which even posterity may contemplate, and thence discern the wisdom and truth of their computations. *

The East India Company were exceedingly favoured and protected, especially in the beginning of this reign; the African company was in the zenith of its glory, and brought in vast profits to the proprietors and the nation. † Many of our plantations were settled by his majesty's favour; such as Pennsylvania, Carolina, &c. ‡ Others were restored to this nation by his arms; such as New York, and the Jerseys; § and all had such encouragement, that they made quite another figure than in former times, as we may guess from what a modern writer, no way partial to this prince, says of Barbadoes; that, during his reign, it maintained four hundred sail of ships, produced two hundred thousand pounds a year clear profit to this nation; and maintained one hundred thousand people there and here. ||

These are high calculations; but I believe the person who made them is able to justify them, and therefore I make no question that Sir William Petty was in the right, when he calculated our exports at ten millions *per annum*. ¶ This agrees very well with the state of our customs, which

* See Pett's Happy Future State of England, Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic, and his Essays, Dr. Davenant's Book before cited, and his Essay upon the Probable Methods of Making People Gainers in the Balance of Trade.

† See a General Treatise of Naval Trade and Commerce, vol. ii. chap. 5.

‡ Curson's Compendium of the Laws and Government of England, p. 512.

§ See the British Empire in America, under those titles.

|| Ibid. p. 166, 167.

¶ Political Arithmetic, p. 244.

fell then little short of a million; though in 1660 they were farmed for four hundred thousand pounds, as they were once let by Queen Elizabeth at thirty-six thousand. Dr. Davenant, an excellent judge in these matters, having duly weighed all the calculations I have mentioned, and compared them with all the lights he had received from long experience; pronounces the balance of trade to have been in our favour, in this reign, two millions a year; and less, I think, it could not well be.* The bounds prescribed to this work will not allow me to say more on this subject; and I must have violated the duty I owe to truth and my country, if I had said less.

We are now to speak particularly of the most remarkable among those illustrious persons, whose gallant actions at sea have been already occasionally mentioned in this history; men, who, in point of military and civil virtue, have deserved as well of their country as men could do, and whose fame, therefore, ought to be transmitted to posterity with due respect. Among these, in the first place, let us take notice of him to whose loyalty we owe the virtues and services of all the rest.

MEMOIRS OF GENERAL GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, AND KNIGHT OF THE GARTER.

IF the intrinsic worth of a man's actions were sufficient to secure the applause of succeeding times, there would be little occasion to enter minutely into the memoirs of this great soldier and seaman; and, on the other hand, if there be any thing laudable in removing those shades which the envious are always labouring to throw over the reputation of the worthy; then certainly no man's life would claim

* Discourses on the Public Revenues and Trade of England, vol. ii. p. 47.

greater attention than his of whom I am speaking; the merit of whose services scarcely raised him more friends, than the glory of them excited detractors.

He was by birth a gentleman, descended on the father's side from an ancient and honourable family, settled from the time of Henry III. at Potheridge, in Devonshire; and, by the female line, sprung from the victorious Edward IV.* He was the second son of Sir Thomas Monk, a man whose qualities and virtues deserved a better fortune; for time, in doing honour to his family, had almost worn out his estate. His son George, was born on the 6th of December, 1608; and his father having not much wealth to give, intended him from his childhood for the sword, and therefore bestowed on him such an education as was requisite to qualify him for the profession of arms, for which he gave a proof of his capacity when he was scarce able to wield them.†

In the first year of the reign of King Charles I. his majesty, who had then in view a war with Spain, came

* The first notice that I believe the world ever had of this matter, was from a pamphlet, printed in 1659, entitled, "The Pedigree and Descent of his Excellency General Monk, setting forth how he is descended from King Edward III. by a branch and slip of the White Rose, the House of York, and likewise his extraction from Richard, King of the Romans." This was published with a view, I suppose, to countenance a design some people had entertained of inclining the general to assume the crown himself, instead of restoring the king. The fact, however, is true as to his descent, which may be seen in Dugdale and other authors. But this descent could not possibly give him any title to the crown, since the Lady Frances Plantagenet was first married into the family of Basset, and had issue of that marriage; and, which is still more to the purpose, her father Arthur, Viscount Lisle, was only natural son to Edward IV. We cannot wonder, therefore, that so thinking a man as General Monk despised such a pitiful strain of flattery, on a circumstance otherwise very honourable to his family.

† These particulars are taken from the Life of General Monk, written by Dr. Gumble; his Life by Dr. Skinner; and what is said of him in Prince's Worthies of Devon.

down to Plymouth, in order to inspect the naval preparations that were making there. Sir Thomas Monk had a mind to pay his duty to his prince, though his debts, derived rather from his ancestors extravagance than his own, made him somewhat afraid of the law. To remedy this evil, he sent his son George to the under-sheriff of Devonshire, with a considerable present; desiring that, on so extraordinary an occasion, he might be safe from any insult while he attended the king. The sheriff took the present, and granted his request; but, soon after receiving a larger from one of his creditors, took him in execution in the face of the county. George Monk, whose youth led him to think this a strange action, went to Exeter; and after expostulating with the pettifogger, who was altogether insensible as to reproaches; took his leave of him in a more intelligible language, and caned him so heartily, that he left him in no condition of following him. This adventure sent him on board the fleet, which, under the command of Lord Wimbleton, shortly after sailed for Cadiz, when he was in the seventeenth year of his age; and thus he began, as he ended, his service to his country at sea. *

In this voyage he served as a volunteer under his near relation, Sir Richard Greenville; the next year, we find him with a pair of colours, under the brave Sir John Burroughs, in the unfortunate expedition to the Isle of Rhe. Such unlucky beginnings would certainly have daunted a less resolute mind than that of Mr. Monk, who was distinguished in his youth, by a steadiness of temper which he maintained to his dying hour, and which was equally incapable of being heated by passion, or chilled by fear.

In 1628, being then completely of age, he went over to Holland, and served in the regiment of the earl of Oxford,

* Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 11.

and afterwards in that of the Lord Goring, who gave him the command of his own company, before he was thirty years of age. In this service, Mr. Monk was present in several sieges and battles ; and pursuing steadily the study of his profession, became a complete master therein. In the last year of his stay in Holland, his winter-quarters were assigned him in Dort ; where the magistrates punishing some of his soldiers, for matters rather proper for the inspection of a court-martial, Captain Monk expostulated the matter so warmly, that the point came to be decided by the prince of Orange ; who, though he in a like case had given judgment in favour of Sir Richard Cave, and thereby misled the captain, now, to gratify the people, gave it for the burghers ; which so disgusted Monk, who under a calm behaviour concealed a very high spirit, that he soon after threw up his commission, and never saw the Dutch more, as a friend. *

On his return home, he found his country in great confusion ; a war newly broken out with the rebellious Scots ; and an army raising to chastise them, in which he served as a lieutenant-colonel, under the earl of Newport ; and, if his advice had been taken, things had not ended as they did. † When the war blazed out in Ireland, in 1641,

* Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 4. Journal of the expedition to the Isle of Rhe, in Lord Lansdown's Works, vol. iii. p. 253 ; in which is the following passage : " July 28. The day following Mr. Monk came from England through the main, passing the army which lay before Rochelle with great hazard of his life, and brought a message by word of mouth, from the king to my lord duke, with intelligence of thirty or forty sail of ships, with three or four thousand men, preparing in France." Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 102. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 699.

† Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 18, where he asserts, that Lieutenant Monk was one of the few officers who seconded the earl of Strafford in his desire of fighting the Scots, instead of treating with them, which at all events must have served the king's purpose ; but his tenderness for his countrymen ruined him, and, by bearing so much from rebels in one kingdom, he invited a rebellion in another.

through the favour of his cousin, the earl of Leicester, then lord-lieutenant, he was appointed to command his own regiment; in which post he did great service, and might have been governor of Dublin, but for the jealousy of the earl of Ormond. *

In 1643, he returned into England to serve his majesty, to whom he was introduced at Oxford, and honoured with a conference which lasted some time; and which satisfied the king how ill he had been used by his ministers, who, upon some dirty intelligence from Dublin, prevailed upon his majesty to take away his regiment, and give it to Major Warren; a man of so much honour, that they found no small difficulty in prevailing upon him to accept it. To make Colonel Monk some amends, the king constituted him a major-general of the Irish brigade, and then sent him to his command; which he had not enjoyed long, before he, with many other officers, were surprized by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and sent prisoners to Hull; from whence, by special direction of the parliament, he was transferred to the Tower of London, where he remained several years a prisoner, in circumstances narrow enough; though his brother, who was a royalist, and consequently the less able, did what he could for him, and his generous master sent him from Oxford, one hundred pounds in gold; which was a large sum out of so low an exchequer. †

In 1646-7, when the fury of the civil war was over, by the total ruin of the king's affairs, Colonel Monk accepted

* Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 21. Ludlow tells us, in his Memoirs, p. 77, that, when Ormond sent him over, he ordered him to be confined in the ship, because he had made a scruple of serving against the parliament, with forces raised by their authority. This shews, that General Monk was not such a soldier of fortune as Burnet and some other writers would make him; but that he had always a great respect to principle.

† Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 25. See also the Preface by Dr. Webster, where there is a letter from Mr. Monk to his elder brother, dated from the Tower, Nov. 6, 1644, acknowledging the receipt of fifty pounds, and desiring the like sum.

a commission under his relation the Lord Lisle, whom the parliament had appointed to the government of Ireland. When, in consequence of this, he obtained his liberty, he went, before he left the Tower, to pay his respects to the venerable Doctor Matthew Wren, Lord Bishop of Ely; and, having received his blessing, the colonel took his leave in these words: "My lord, I am now going to serve the king, the best I may, against his bloody rebels in Ireland; and I hope I shall one day live to do further service to the royal cause in England." * At this time, however, he was not very fortunate; for, after a short stay in that kingdom, he returned with Lord Lisle, whose difference with the marquis of Ormond hindered either of them from serving their country effectually; but Colonel Monk did not long remain idle in England; for the parliament knew his abilities too well, and had too quick a sense of the state of Irish affairs, not to employ him in the only service to which he was inclined; and thus he returned a third time into Ireland, with the title of commander-in-chief of the English forces in the North; † where, in conjunction with Colonel Jones and Sir Charles Coote, he took Athboy, Portlester, Ballyshannon, Nabber, and Ballyho. Afterwards, with the assistance of Sir Price Coghruan, and Lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, he surprised Carrickfergus, the head of the Scots quarters in that kingdom, and in it Major-General Monroe and his troops, who was drawing them out, with an intention to

* Skinner's *Life of Monk*, p. 28. *PARENTALIA*, or *Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*, viz. of Matthew, Bishop of Ely, Christopher, Dean of Windsor, but chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren, late Surveyor-General of the Royal Buildings, &c. compiled by his son Christopher, and published by his grandson Stephen Wren, Esq. fol. London, 1750, p. 27, where this remarkable incident is related at large. See also Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 48, who says he had it from that reverend prelate's own mouth.

† Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 123. Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 227. Gumble's *Life of Monk*, p. 25. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 319.

join the forces of his nephew, Sir George Monroe, in Scotland. * This action and success, says Whitlocke, † was one of the first that brought Colonel Monk into extraordinary favour with the parliament; who began to have more confidence in him than they had formerly, since his revolt to them. A letter of thanks was sent to Monk, his officers, and soldiers; he was likewise appointed governor of Carrickfergus, and five hundred pounds were ordered him, as a reward for his good services. As to Major-General Monroe, he was conducted to England; where, upon his arrival, he was committed to the Fleet; the officer, Major Brough, who had the care of him, receiving two hundred pounds, by command of the parliament, for his attention in that particular.

As for our colonel, he pursued the path he was in with patience; and though it was a very difficult thing to manage such a divided authority, yet the prudence of Monk enabled him to surmount this difficulty, and many others, some of which were yet greater. He was forced to make war without money, which he did so effectually, as to reduce Owen Roe O'Neile to the utmost distress, by carrying off provisions where that was practicable, and burning them where it was not. Yet, in the spring of the year 1649, Colonel Monk found himself in so weak a condition, by the desertion brought on his army through the detestation the soldiers had of the king's murder, that he was constrained to enter into a treaty with this Owen Roe O'Neile; which certainly saved the few troops he had under his command, and thereby preserved the parliament's interest in that country. ‡ However, it gave

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 275, 339. Cox's History of Ireland, p. 196, 203. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 27.

† Memorials, p. 339, 341. See also Carte's Collection of Original Letters and Papers respecting the Affairs of England, from the Papers of the Ormond Family, London, 1739, 8vo. 2 vols. vol. i. p. 172.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 359. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 391. Heath's Chronicle, p. 238, 239. Davies's His-

such offence, that, on his return, he was subjected to a strict inquiry by the house of commons; who, after a very full hearing of the matter, came to a resolution against the treaty; but in justification of Monk's intention therein, which, though but a partial censure, some think the general never forgot. *

I must own, this appears to me one of the darkest parts of his history; but what I find most probable is, that the parliament's resolution was intended purely to wipe off the odium of having treated with an Irish papist, and that Colonel Monk did nothing therein but under direction; and this, I think, sufficiently appears from the parliament's having carried on a private treaty with an agent of O'Neile at London; † and from the style of their resolution, in which, though they declare the fact to be criminal, yet they admit the man to be innocent; which I conceive he could not well be, unless he had known their intentions. ‡

Oliver Cromwell was now entrusted with the sole direction of the Irish war, and Monk was out of all employment; which might have straitened him in his private fortune, if his elder brother had not died without issue-male, by which he inherited the estate of the family. About this time also he declared his marriage, or perhaps somewhat

tory of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, chap xc. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 221.

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 419. *Moderate Intelligencer*, from June 7 to 14, 1649, No. 221. *History of Independency*, vol. ii. p. 226. *Cox's History of Ireland*, p. 5.

† Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 294, 295.

‡ The resolution is in these words: "That this house doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of Colonel Monk, in the treaty and cessation made between him and Owen Roe O'Neile; and that this house doth detest the thoughts of closing with any party of Popish rebels there, who have had their hands in shedding English blood. Nevertheless, the house being satisfied, that what the said Colonel Monk did therein was, in his apprehension, necessary for the preservation of the parliament of England's interest; that the house is content the farther consideration thereof, as to him, be laid aside, and shall not at any time hereafter be called in question."

later ; for it seems he did not care the world should know he had a wife, till he was in possession of a competent fortune to maintain her. * His repose was of no long continuance ; for, in the year 1650, Cromwell, when he was about to march into Scotland against the king, engaged him to accept of a new commission.

Skinner and some other writers talk, upon this occasion, of a secret fate which over-ruled him in this action ; † nay, some of them would insinuate, that it was purely to revenge the treason of the Scots against King Charles I. that he took arms against them now, when they were fighting to restore King Charles II. ‡ But I must freely own, that it appears to me the highest impiety to charge upon the providence of God what would be thought weakness in man ; as, on the other hand, I see no reason why we should sacrifice truth to our zeal for any person, or any cause. I revere Monk as much as any man ; and yet I must speak it as my opinion, that he deserted his principles upon this occasion, that he might gratify his ambition. Cromwell was so sensible of his merit, that he took a very unusual way to provide him with a regiment, by drawing six companies out of Sir Arthur Haslerig's, and six out of Colonel Fenwick's ; and, to secure him still farther, he made him lieutenant-general of the ordnance ; and thus he was again embarked with the parliament, through the interest of their general. §

In this expedition Cromwell, though he was a very knowing and great officer, certainly run into a dangerous error, which he discovered somewhat of the latest ; and then began to retreat toward Dunbar, the Scots pressing

* Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 33. Lives, English and Foreign. Thurloe's Papers, vol. i. p. 470.

† Life of General Monk, p. 36.

‡ Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 34, 35.

§ Heath's Chronicle, p. 274. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 327. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 466.

hard upon his rear. Finding himself distressed, he called a council of war, in which opinions were divided, till general Monk delivered his in these words: "Sir, the Scots have numbers and the hills; those are their advantages: we have discipline and despair, two things that will make soldiers fight; and these are ours. My advice, therefore, is, to attack them immediately; which if you follow, I am ready to command the van." His proposal being accepted, he began the attack; and, as Ludlow acknowledges, was the sole instrument of that victory which gained Cromwell so great reputation.*

The following summer he spent in reducing the best part of Scotland, and particularly the town of Dundee, which made a good defence; he took it, notwithstanding, by storm, put six hundred of the garrison to the sword, and committed other acts of severity, which, however necessary they might be to his private interest, were certainly detrimental enough to his public character, the thing itself rendering him terrible to the royalists; and the manner of it gave distaste to General Ludlow, and all the sober men of that party.† The fatigue of so much business, and perhaps some extraordinary agitations of mind, threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness: upon this he applied for leave to return into England; which having obtained, he went to Bath, recovered his health, and, coming to London, found himself named a commis-

* Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 38. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 328.

† Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 40, where he slips over the matter without any particular notice. Lives, English and Foreign, p. 437. where it is expressly said, that he put the governor Robert Lumsdale, and eight hundred of his garrison, to the sword. Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs, p. 361, says, the governor was barbarously shot, after quarter given, by a fanatic officer. General Ludlow in his Memoirs, vol. i. p. 366, affirms quite the contrary, viz. that he stormed Dundee, and, being entered, put five or six hundred to the sword, and commanded the governor, with divers others, to be killed in cold blood. Unjustifiable severity to men engaged upon principle!

sioner for bringing about an union between Scotland and England; in which, without doubt, he was properly employed, since few people at that time knew the interest of both nations better than he did. *

The Dutch war gave a new occasion for removing General Monk from his command in Scotland, to employ him on board the fleet. The death of Colonel Popham made way for this: it was necessary to supply his loss, by sending an experienced officer in his stead, and this induced the parliament to cast their eyes upon Monk. He was now nearly forty-five years of age, which seemed a little of the latest to bring a man into a new scene of life; yet it must be remembered, that he was bred in a maritime county, and had served at sea in his youth; so that the preferment was not absolutely out of his way; or, if it were, he soon made it appear, that he could easily accommodate himself to any service that might be beneficial to his country.

We find him with the fleet in May, 1653; and on the second of June he engaged that of the Dutch, being on board the *Resolution* with Admiral Deane, who, in the beginning of the action, was killed by a chain-shot, a new invention generally ascribed to De Witte.† Monk with great presence of mind threw his cloak over the body; and having fetched two or three turns, and encouraged the men to do their duty, ordered it to be removed into his cabin. The dispute continued two days, and ended at last in a complete victory gained by the English. The Dutch, it is true, denied this; and the states went so far as to send a letter to their foreign ministers, directing them to assert; that it was but a drawn battle:‡ yet Van Tromp in his

* Gumble's and Skinner's Life of Monk.

† Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 45. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 557. Lives, English and Foreign, p. 139. Mercurius Politicus, No. 158, p. 2515.

‡ The reader may find this letter in Thurloe's Papers, vol. i. p. 273.

letter acknowledges the contrary, and lays the blame on the want of ammunition, and the base behaviour of many of his captains.* This is certain, that Monk discovered upon this occasion, such a spirit for pushing things to the utmost, as gave him great reputation.

He soon increased this, by engaging the Dutch again on the 29th of July, where he likewise fought two days, and gained a second complete victory, as we have elsewhere shewn;† and shall therefore insist only on a few particulars relating to his personal conduct in this place. The Dutch fleet was far superiour to his; and yet he not only attacked them, but engaged with thirty sail of light frigates, while the rest of the fleet were astern, and could not get up. The 30th proved a foul day, and so prevented any further fighting; on the 31st, the Dutch had a supply of twenty-five large ships, which did not hinder Monk, who now commanded in chief, from attacking them, though he knew they had another great advantage, *viz.* a number of fire-ships, whereas he had none: nay, as if he had been secure of victory, he gave orders that no ship should be taken, or quarter given; for he saw that sending off ships to convoy them weakened his own fleet, and thereby lessened the effects of their victories.‡ His judgment appeared to be right, from the consequence of this battle; in which the loss of the Dutch, especially that of their gallant Admiral Van Tromp, was so great, that it would not admit of any disguise; but the states were forced to send their ministers hither, to conclude a peace upon any terms that could be obtained. §

* This letter is also printed in the same collection, vol. i. p. 270.

† See p. 265.

‡ Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 240. Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 348.

§ *Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. ii. liv. 12. Neuville, tom. iii. liv. x. chap. 11, 12. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 489. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 469.

After this, he was sent upon the coast of Holland, to destroy all the pretences of the Dutch, in case they had set up any; and to make their people sensible that they were thoroughly beaten. On his return to London, he found the little parliament sitting, by the authority of General Cromwell; which assembly treated Monk, however, so kindly, that the general began to be jealous of him; till, upon repeated conversations, he was thoroughly persuaded that Monk thought them, what he was willing every body should think them, a crew of ignorant enthusiasts; and then he became perfectly easy, and took Monk into his favour; who, notwithstanding all this kindness, declared himself against the peace intended with the Dutch; which Cromwell, nevertheless, made, having, in order to that, taken upon him the title of Protector.

To this great change the states contributed not a little by their ambassadors; who represented to General Cromwell, that the parliament he had been pleased to call were a set of men fitter for Bedlam than the government of a state, with whom it was impossible to treat or conclude any thing; but that, if he would assume the government, they would submit to any terms he should think reasonable.* When he was once fixed in his protectorate, and felt the weight of governing three kingdoms, he began to think of easing himself, by sending proper officers into two of them: and, in this partition, Scotland fell to the share of General Monk. It was in the spring of the year 1654, that Cromwell took this resolution, and Monk, readily accepting the commission, went down thither in the month of April the same year.†

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 349—353. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, chap. 99. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 51. See Cromwell's Commission to General Monk, dated April 28, 1654, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 222.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 494. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 504. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 589.

He found the kingdom in the utmost confusion; the English army very small, and very ill governed, being under the command of Colonel Deane, a timorous man, and one that knew not how to direct any thing in such a critical conjuncture. A great part of the nobility were in arms for the king; and as to the rest of the people, they were split into innumerable parties, by quarrels among their ministers.* The general shewed himself a true servant of Cromwell; he not only pursued the business of the war indefatigably; but, by setting a price on the heads of the principal cavaliers, filled their minds with such distrusts, that they ever after acted in such a manner as shewed they were in confusion.† He settled garrisons and magazines in the most distant parts of the nation, using such severity towards all who resisted, and such lenity to all who submitted, that, in a very short time, he subdued the whole kingdom.

When the war was once over, he fixed himself at the house of the Countess of Buccleugh, at Dalkeith, within four miles of Edinburgh; where, while he governed the kingdom more absolutely than most of its monarchs had done, he lived with all the moderation of a private man, and made husbandry and gardening his sole amusements.‡ Cromwell sent down a commission, empowering certain persons to direct civil affairs, under the title of a Council

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 360, 361. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 590, 591, 592, 597. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 342, 343.

† See this Proclamation, signed G. Monk, and dated at Dalkeith, May 4, 1654. In it he mentions Major-general Middleton, the earl of Athol, the earl of Seaforth, the Lord-viscount Kenmure, and Major-general Dalziel, for the killing of whom, or bringing them in prisoners to an English garrison, he offered two hundred pounds a head. This proclamation is in the late Collection of Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 261.

‡ Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 103. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 86, 87. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 505.

of State, consisting of the Lord Broghill, who was president, Colonel Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle, Colonel William Lockhart, Colonel Adrian Scroop, Colonel John Wethum, and Major-general Disbrow.* The majority of this council concurred with Monk in every thing; so that, in the main, the civil as well as military power was in his hands: and he managed it in such a manner, that the people had not either reason or inclination to complain; but, on the contrary, were very thankful and contented. He seems, however, by his letters, to have been strongly and steadily attached to Cromwell; since we find, that he not only communicated to him all that he could discover of the king's intelligence there with others; but sent him also the copy of a letter, written by King Charles II. to himself; which hitherto has been always mentioned as a proof of Monk's early affection for the king's service; on a supposition, that, though he did not answer, he concealed it; which supposition is now clearly and absolutely overturned.† Yet all his precaution did not secure him from the jealousy of the protector, who was actually contriving how to remove him, when death put a period to his projects. A little before his end, however, he wrote the general a long letter, concluding with the following postscript; which, I conceive, affords us a better picture of Oliver than is any where to be met with, and, which is no less singular, drawn by his own hand.‡

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 374. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 69. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 711, 727.

† This Letter of King Charles II. to Monk is dated Colen, August 12, 1655, and was communicated to Dr. Peter Barwick by Monk's son, as a proof of his father's early loyalty: but it appears from Thurloe's Papers, that Monk gave an account of every thing that passed in Scotland; and particularly sent him up this very letter, with many others.

‡ Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 72. The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's Happy Restoration laid open to Public View, Lond. 1680, 8vo. p. 12.

“ P. S. There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in SCOTLAND, called GEORGE MONK, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce CHARLES STUART. I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me.”

Yet, as a creature of Cromwell, he was hated by the commonwealth party; and a conspiracy had been formed against him by Colonel Overton, in which Sindercome had undertaken to murder the general, who afterwards made a like attempt upon Cromwell; but Monk having discovered and disappointed the plot, contented himself with sending the authors of it up to London.* The principal cause of the protector's jealousy was, the kindness shewn by the general to the Scots, for finding them of his own temper, that is to say, of a civil, though reserved nature, he admitted them freely to his presence, of what party soever they were.

Immediately on Oliver's death he proclaimed Richard, from whom he received a very kind letter, which contained a fact not likely to be true, *viz.* that his father had directed him to be governed chiefly by Monk's advice; whereas he was scarcely in his senses, when he appointed him to the succession.† This, however, was very well judged in the new protector, and seemed to bespeak his advice in such a manner, as that he could not, consistently with the deep regard he professed for his father, refuse giving it him; and therefore the general, some time after, sent it by his brother-in-law. The paper is yet remaining;‡ and will convince whoever reads it, that Monk, though a very plain man, was a very sound politician; and,

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 132.

† Ibid. vol. vii. p. 363, 372. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 94, 95. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 75.

‡ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 387.

like an honest and sensible counsel, gave the clearest and best opinion, upon his intricate and perplexed case, that it would bear. If Richard could have supported himself at all, it would have rivetted Monk in his favour; who, however, might doubt the possibility of that, when he gave it. He judged rightly, that, if things went well, it would do him much good; and, if they went ill, it could do him no hurt. The further to conciliate Monk's friendship, the protector sent down Commissary Clarges, brother to Lady Monk, laden with promises: which, however, had no effect upon the wary general; who received his commands respectfully; wrote a civil answer to Thurloe's smooth letter; and took all the care he could to secure his command in Scotland, till he saw what turn things in England would take; it having been his opinion, that, if Oliver had lived much longer, he would have been shaken in his seat. *

The succeeding troubles in England, therefore, were very far from surprising him: on the contrary, they were precisely what he looked for and expected; and it was very easy to foresee, that, in consequence of them, some attempts might be made to restore the king. It would be beside the design of this treatise; it would require much more room than we have to spare; and, after all, it would be in a great measure needless, considering what has been already written on the subject, for us to enter minutely into the intrigues that were used, while General Monk was in Scotland, to bring him into that interest: † we shall

* See the character of the Protector, as drawn by the noble historian in his *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 646. Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell, by Abraham Cowley, in the second volume of his Works. *The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, by Slingsby Bethel, Esq. *Gumble's Life of Monk*, p. 95. *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 68.

† The curious reader may consult the *Life of Dean Barwick*, wherein he will find the best accounts that were ever published of this matter; and yet the earl of Clarendon says nothing of the services of

content ourselves, therefore, with saying, that he acted in this matter with the utmost prudence and circumspection; so that what the earl of Clarendon and Bishop Burnet have suggested, that he was a man of slow parts and slender abilities, ought to be considered rather as the effect of their prejudices, than of the general's conduct. *

The truth is, they were both out of this secret; that is to say, the former had no hand in it, and the latter never so much as heard of it; which was reason enough for them to write as they did. The general's council consisted chiefly of ladies. He corresponded in England with the lady Savile; he managed all Scotland by the assistance of the countess of Buccleugh; and consulted much, in regard to his personal conduct, with his wife, a woman of quick parts, and a thorough royalist. He had, besides, some confidants, who will appear to posterity more worthy of the truth he reposed in them, for having never boasted of the assistance they gave him, as others did, who afforded him much less. Among the first, I reckon his wife's brother, Dr. Clarges, Colonel Cloberry, and General Morgan; among the latter, his chaplains Price and Gumble, with many others. †

this Dr. John Barwick, though no man was better acquainted with them than himself; which shews, that there are some things in which that history is not altogether to be depended upon.

* It is clear from what Lord Clarendon says, that he was altogether unacquainted with the general's intentions, and could only collect his design from his manner of acting. His reservedness, therefore, to so haughty a man, might well enough induce him to speak so coldly as he does of the general's performances. Yet he does not pretend to enter deeply into his character, as Burnet does, who must know much less of it, and that only from conversation in a court where Monk's patriotism, and severity of morals, had left him few friends, and created him many enemies.

† The capital secret of the restoration was, the general's forming the design of it, which he did in Scotland; and, by the assistance of the countess of Buccleugh, drew all the loyal nobility to confide in him; a thing of which Bishop Burnet knew nothing, though it was

In the management of all great undertakings, the surest signs of a true genius is, the disposition of its several parts. This shews the first mover; this marks the ruling character, that superiority of skill and conduct which denominates a man truly wise and great. Let us see, then, what it was Monk was to overthrow; what to establish; and what force he had to do it with. He was to change a settlement, new indeed in itself, but in appearance so much the stronger; having all the authority in the three kingdoms; a veteran army of upwards of thirty thousand men in England and Ireland; and a victorious fleet on its side. He was to restore a lost cause, in the opinion of its best friends; a cause which he durst not so much as own; a cause against which himself had done much, and the troops he commanded more; all which he was to do with a body of between five and six thousand men, which were so far from being better troops than those they were to oppose, that, in reality, they were not their equals. Yet, with the blessing of God, he performed what he proposed; he triumphed over all these difficulties; and he did this by a just distribution of the several parts of his scheme, any one of which, had it been omitted or misplaced, had ruined the whole.

He secured Scotland behind him; raised a sufficient sum of money to put the first springs in motion; and excited such a spirit in his army, as fitted it for the present work.* Next, he took care to stir the humours in the body-politic; to rouse and animate all the parties in the nation; that they might move, act, and shew their humours and their strength. He set up Fairfax against Lambert; and broke his veteran army by shewing them

in truth the great spring of the affair, and the clearest proof, that the general acted sincerely and uniformly through the whole expedition.

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 702. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 809. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 222, 223.

their old general. * He made use of honest Dr. Price to feed the royalists with hopes, while his own actions could give them none. † By the talkative Mr. Gumble, he wrought upon the commonwealth men: by gracious and yet general answers he kept himself well with all parties, without declaring for any. ‡ He prevailed with the parliament to part with a better army than his own, merely from the opinion of his being their best friend: § when he came to London, he shewed himself the very best of their servants, by obsequiously performing the dirtiest of their work; and, proving them thereby to be the worst of masters, he paved the way for ousting them of their authority. || Thus, he went beyond them in their own arts; outstripped them in cunning; and having the city and the country, as well as the fleet and the army, on his side; he gave law to those who had been so long dictators. ¶

By recalling the secluded members, he of a rump made them a house; and, by their own consent, fairly dissolved that long parliament, which might otherwise have been

* Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 412. Skinner's *Life of General Monk*, p. 139. MS. papers of Sir Philip Monckton in the possession of his worthy descendant, the right honourable the lord viscount Galway. *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, No. 6, p. 65.

† *Mystery and Method of His Majesty's Happy Restoration*, p. 84.

‡ Mr. Gumble had a hundred pounds given him for bringing Monk's letter from Newcastle, and was recommended also by the house of commons to be a fellow of Eton college. Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 692, 693. Philips's *Continuation of Baker's Chronicle*, and other writers.

§ Skinner's *Continuation of Bates*, p. iii. p. 27. Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*, p. 375.

|| Gumble's *Life of General Monk*, p. 236. Sir Richard Bulstrode's *Memoirs*, p. 209. Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 437. Mercurius Politicus, No. 607.

¶ See the authors last cited, as also Kennet, Echard, Rapin, and all our historians.

everlasting. * After doing all this, he did still more : he refused the kingdom, when it was offered him by the distracted republicans, to keep it from its right owner ; and then our old enemies, the French, would have lent him their assistance to have hindered the return of a monarch, who they foresaw, unless they misled him, must be the first in Europe ; and this they did as politicians, though that monarch was a grandson of France. † But Monk generously despised a diadem to which he had no right ; and, with equal greatness of mind, refused to make any terms with him to whom it belonged. ‡ He saw the folly of cobbling constitutions, and pretending to take power from one set of men to give it to another ; he chose therefore, like a wise and honest man, to fix things upon their old bottom, and to leave the king's power, and the people's freedom, to be discussed in the only assembly that could have a right to meddle with them. §

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 720, 721. Heath's Chronicle, p. 438, 439. Public Intelligencer, by Order of Parliament, No. 608, 609. A Perfect Diurnal of Every Day's Proceedings in Parliament, No. 1, 2, 3. Mercurius Publicus, 4to. No. 612.

† Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 693. Sir Arthur Haselrig offered to procure a hundred thousand hands to subscribe to his title, if he would assume the government. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 252. Price's History of the Restoration, p. 128. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 426.

‡ Mr. Locke, on the credit of the earl of Shaftsbury, has published a very strange story in relation to the conduct of this great man, as if he had agreed with the French ambassador to take upon him the government ; which story is reported at large by Echard in his history, p. 757. But this, as it is incredible in its nature, so it is improbable in its circumstances ; and supported by no authority in the world but that of a vain man, who was desirous of taking the merit of the restoration to himself.

§ The very enemies of Monk have always allowed him this eminent service of restoring the king without conditions, to which we owed that ten years calm succeeding the king's return ; whereas, if he had submitted to conditions, we must, from the nature of things, have relapsed into confusion immediately.

Thus was the restoration begun, prosecuted, and perfected, by Monk; who received, as favours from the king, his titles, preferments, and fortune; all which, to be sure, he might have had in another way. And yet this is the man whom almost all our histories treat as having only second-rate parts, acting as he was prompted by men of brisker tempers, and invited by favourable occasions; as a horrid dissembler, though he refused to take the engagement, and was never concerned in the war against Charles I.; as an avaricious all grasping person, though it is confessed that he asked NOTHING from his sovereign, to whom he gave ALL; as a man utterly unfit for business, who yet had shewn himself a great captain in Ireland, an excellent governor in Scotland, and a profound statesman in England, not to mention his reputation as an admiral, acquired by humbling Holland; but it is one thing to merit a character, and another to purchase it. The latter was not Monk's talent: he provided for his relations and friends, but he was no encourager of flatterers; and, withal, being a bad courtier, he was seldom called for after the restoration, but when he was necessary; and this happening pretty often, leads us to the rest of his history; in which we shall still find him appear with honour, and perform with success.

The command of the army was continued to the duke of Albemarle, as long as there was, properly speaking, an army to command: he was, likewise, made master of the horse, and one of the king's bed-chamber.* Bishop Burnet, as also the noble historian, have said abundance of invidious things of him; and this will make it necessary to shew how false they are, and how little credit is due to their insinuations against this great man's character. The former says he was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was

* Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 712. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 312.

a mean contemptible creature, bad words these in a bishop's mouth, who at other times could say soft things of the ladies; and adds, that he soon lost all personal regard, by becoming useless.* When he was created a duke,† the king settled seven thousand pounds a-year upon him, though one hundred thousand pounds a-year had been proposed before the restoration took place.‡ When he was called up by writ to the house of lords, he was attended by almost the whole house of commons to the door: a very unusual mark of respect, which could only be due to extraordinary merit, and must have flowed from their sense of it.§ Various plots were framed, immediately after the king's return; and, in all these, the duke of Albemarle's life was particularly aimed at: this seems to be a strong proof of his consequence; and, if we were to demand another, we cannot desire a better than what all the histories of those times tell us; *viz.* that these insurrections were chiefly suppressed by his activity, at the head of his own faithful regiment. || His success, in this respect, gave him an opportunity of deserving as much from the nation by his patriotism, as ever he did from the king by his loyalty. It was suggested in council, that

* Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 98. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 46.

† His elevation to the peerage was so acceptable to that august body, that, upon notice given of it to the house by the lord chancellor, they ordered the lord great chamberlain of England, and the Lord Berkeley, to wait upon his majesty to return him their thanks for the honours he had been pleased to confer upon the duke of Albemarle. Journal of the house of lords.

‡ Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 396. Price's History of the Restoration, p. 9. Lord Lansdown's Works, vol. ii. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 272.

§ Heath's Chronicle, p. 455. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 314. Kennet, Echard.

|| Heath's Chronicle, p. 471, 472, 512. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. 73. Bishop Parker's History of his own Time, p. 11—20. Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 734. Mercurius Politicus, No. 3. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 135.

these tumults shewed how little use could be made of trained bands; and therefore, that it was fit a part of the army should be kept up. The duke said, "this could not be done without giving the people a jealousy of the king; and that the best way to gain their affections, was to rely upon them."* I leave the reader to judge, with what decency this man could be said to forfeit all personal regard, and to become in a short time useless.

But the bishop is not content with barely characterising this noble person; he charges him with three glaring crimes, which, as they relate to the most eminent actions of his life, we shall briefly consider. The first is, the murder of the marquis of Argyle. This nobleman was questioned, before the parliament of Scotland, for concurring with the late rebellious powers: he pleaded, that he complied with them only, and made a very strong defence;† but the bishop says, that Monk having several letters of his, which fully shewed that his inclinations, as well as his actions, were with the prevailing party, he sent these down, which were read in parliament; and by this breach of private friendship, he brought the marquis to the block.‡

Now, to this I say, that the fact cannot be true, for many reasons. I shall mention only a few. 1. The marquis, in his defence, complains, that he was surprised into being present at Oliver's proclamation, as protector, by General Monk's sending for him to the council, without letting him know what was to be done. Would he have complained of this, and have passed by the letters; or would not this complaint have been ridiculous, if there had been any such letters? § 2. The marquis died with

* Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 322.

† The proceedings against him may be found in the second volume of State Trials, p. 417.

‡ Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 125.

§ State Trials. vol. ii. p. 431.

an appeal to God for the sincerity of his defence, and wrote a letter to the king, affirming the same thing, a copy of which I have seen.* Would so wise a man, as the marquis certainly was, have done this, if, as Burnet says, his own letters had made the thing so plain, that his friends had nothing to say? 3. This does not at all agree with Monk's character. He was an advocate for mercy to the regicides in the house of lords; he was silent on the bench at the Old-Bailey, when commissioned to try them; and, which is much more to the purpose, he saved Sir Arthur Haselrig's life and estate, the bitterest personal enemy he had in the world, by owning a promise to him, which some say he never made. This seems to shew him of no betraying spirit.† 4. There was no occasion for Argyle to write any such letters, for Monk never was in England after Oliver became protector: and it is hard to understand, why the marquis should apply to him in Scotland, when he could so easily have had an audience of Cromwell in London, where he often was.‡ 5. The thing is now out of all doubt; for, by the publication of Thurloe's papers, it appears that Monk never considered the marquis in this light; but always represented him as a secret friend to the king, and an active enemy to the protector's government.§

The second imputation on the duke of Albemarle's con-

* By the favour of his nephew, the honourable Mr. Archibald Campbell. In this letter the marquis insists on his loyalty in very high terms; and indeed there is all the reason in the world to believe he never meant any thing more, in his proceedings in Scotland, than to restrain the power of the crown within due bounds.

† Skinner's *Life of Monk*, p. 319, 320.

‡ *Ibid.* chap. 7.

§ See the correspondence of Argyle and Monk in the third, fourth and fifth volumes of Thurloe's *State Papers*; and thence it will plainly appear, that there was no harmony between them, and consequently no ground to suppose, that the marquis would lay himself open to him by his letters.

duct is, his recommending the match with Portugal.* It is admitted, that this proposition might possibly be made by the Portuguese ambassador to the duke of Albemarle, before the king's actual return to his dominions; and that he proposed it to his majesty as a measure proper for extending the trade, and increasing the influence of his subjects abroad. It is likewise true, that his grace thought the acquisition of Tangier a very considerable thing; which will be the less wondered at, if we consider that, in Cromwell's time, there was a project of getting it into our possession. If, therefore, the duke of Albemarle was for this match from right motives, and with a view to the interest of his king and country, as it is plain he was; it is very hard to arraign his behaviour upon consequences, which, it is certain, he could not foresee, and very probably had never considered.

Besides, another queen might have been childless as well as Catherine, and have brought the nation no advantage at all; whereas it is certain, that our close conjunction with Portugal has been very beneficial to us as a trading people; and that our acquisitions of Bombay and Tangier became useless, or at least inconsiderable, entirely through our own fault, from the perpetual struggle of factions among us, which have been always our greatest misfortune; and therefore, to attribute these to the conduct of Monk, or to condemn him for advising a treaty of marriage, which was thoroughly canvassed in, and ap-

* Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 166. Coke's Detection of the Four last Reigns, book iv. chap. i. p. 8. Echard's History of England, from a MS. of Sir Robert Southwell, p. 800. The points insisted on are, 1. That the first motion came from General Monk, who constantly promoted this marriage; 2. That the chancellor had incontestible intelligence of the Infanta's incapacity of having children; 3. That upon this he warmly and passionately opposed it in a cabinet council, which he prevailed on the king to call upon this subject.

proved by, the parliament, is as unreasonable as it is unjust. *

Thus the thing stood in the first edition of this work; but we are now in a condition to clear up all difficulties, from the authority of the noble person, in the needless justification of whose character that of the duke of Albemarle has been unjustly aspersed. † We are assured by him, that the first overture, in relation to the Infanta of Portugal, was made to his majesty by the lord chamberlain, that is, the earl of Manchester; and, it seems, from the beginning was well received. The king next consulted the chancellor himself, and afterwards with a private committee, of which the duke of Albemarle was no member. ‡ There that business came to such maturity, that the Conde de Mello, the Portuguese minister, was sent home, in order to bring with him those securities and assurances that were necessary to the conclusion of the treaty. It was during his absence that an opposition was set on foot by Baron Batteville, or, as his countrymen the Flemings call him, Baron Watteville, the Spanish minister, and his friend the earl of Bristol, who prevailed upon the king to give him a commission to go in search of a princess worthy the king's bed, to some of the courts of Italy. § Upon the

* This matter was warmly, and, as most people thought, fully discussed in three quarto pamphlets by the ingenious Lord Lansdown, the indefatigable Mr. Oldmixon, and the learned Dr. Colebatch, of Trinity College in Cambridge, all of which I perused attentively, that I might do no injustice to any.

† Earl of Clarendon's Life, p. 78, of the folio edition.

‡ This committee was composed of the chancellor, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Manchester, and secretary Nicholas; and therein his Majesty declared, he had consulted the earl of Sandwich, and Sir John Lawson, as to the situation and importance of Tangier.

§ The Count d'Estrades, though so well acquainted with the intrigues of this court, thought the earl of Bristol was sent on this idle errand by the chancellor, in order to get him out of his way; but the fact was quite otherwise.

return of the Portuguese minister, with the title of marquis de Sande, the negociation was renewed; and the Spanish minister, who had been imprudent enough to publish aspersions on the infanta of Portugal, in the English language, and even to throw them out of his window amongst the guards, was ordered to quit the kingdom.* The matter was then laid before the whole privy-council, where, without doubt, the duke of Albemarle was present; and then it was unanimously approved. This unanimity so much pleased the king, that he took notice of it as a good omen, in his speech from the throne, at the opening of the next sessions of parliament, and was congratulated upon it by both houses.† Hence it is evident, that the duke of Albemarle had no particular concern in this business; that the chancellor was very early consulted; that he considered the insinuation to the prejudice of the infanta as an invention of the Spanish minister;‡ and was so far from protesting against this marriage, that he promoted it; and, whatever calumny might afterwards suggest, promoted it, no doubt, from very just and laudable motives.§

The last point to which we are to speak, regards the

* The indiscreet conduct of this minister was the source of the greatest disgrace, and some of the heaviest misfortunes, the court of Spain ever received. So true it is, that the honour always, and often the safety, of every state, is entrusted to every ambassador she sends.

† Baker's Chronicle, p. 749. This speech was made May 8, 1661.

‡ Earl of Clarendon's Life, p. 437, mentions the queen's miscarrying twice; the first time, as the king affirmed, of his own knowledge, to the queen his mother, of a son. Lady Wyche, who attended near her person, asserted, she was able to have borne children at the king's death.

§ The circumstance of the duke of York having children by the chancellor's daughter, gave a colour to the aspersions on the chancellor for promoting the king's marriage; and the desire of vindicating him has been the motive for aspersing other characters.

sale of Dunkirk, in which the bishop assures us,* that the censure thrown upon the lord-chancellor Clarendon was unjust, since he relied intirely upon the sentiments of Monk. In this he does not, however, go so far as another writer; who affirms, that the chancellor and the treasurer protested against it; which, he says, is a point that may be cleared by inspecting the council-books.† Echard seems to lay the blame upon the earl of Sandwich,‡ and is also positive, that the chancellor and treasurer were the two ministers who opposed the measure. Monsieur d'Estrades, the French plenipotentiary, who transacted this important affair, on the part of his master; and who, in his letters to Louis XIV. at the time, gives a very distinct and particular account of what happened through the whole of the negociation; set things in a very different light.§ He produces a letter from the chancellor, dated

* In all altercations of this sort, it is but just to let men speak for themselves. History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 172, 173, the bishop says, "The matter under debate was, whether this place [Dunkirk] ought to be kept or sold. The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by France, said, the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the king to a great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the cost of keeping it. The earl of Clarendon said, he understood not those matters, but appealed to Monk's judgment, who did positively advise letting it go for the money that France offered.—So it was sold; and all the money that was paid for it was immediately squandered away amongst the mistress's creatures." The facts are, 1. That the military men acted as if corrupted by France. 2. The chancellor Clarendon was passive, relying on Monk's opinion. 3. His opinion was positive, to let it go for what France offered. 4. Upon his advice it was sold. 5. And the money squandered among the countess of Castlemain's creatures.

† Coke's Detection of the Four last Reigns, book iv. p. 8, and upon his authority Bishop Kennet relies; complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 255. See also his own Account of the Sale of Dunkirk, and by whom charged upon Clarendon, p. 259.

‡ History of England, p. 781, 801.

§ This is a quite different book from the Lettres, Memoires, et Negociations de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, in five vols. 12mo.

June 29, 1662, delivered to him by Mr. Beling,* who was to explain to him that noble person's intention, the king and his lordship having both written, two days before, to invite him to take England in his way to Holland, where he was then going ambassador.† Upon his arrival, he was informed, that the motive for desiring his presence was, to enter into a treaty for the sale of Dunkirk. He says expressly, the chancellor told him, that the king's necessities obliged him to this step; that he was the only person of the council in that sentiment: that he was to bring over Monk, the treasurer, and the earl of Sandwich, which he could not hope to do, if a round sum was not offered.‡ The French king, in a letter to d'Estrades, expresses great uneasiness at the secrets being communicated to the other lords.§ At length, when the treaty was advanced, the king of England, on the first of

printed at Brussels 1709, which were stolen out of the French king's library by John Aymond, and which contain letters and dispatches from 1663 to 1668. The work here referred to is entitled, *Ambassades et Negociations de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, en Italie, en Angleterre, et en Hollande, depuis l'annee 1637, jusqu'en l'annee 1662. A Amsterdam, chez J. F. Bernard, 1713, 12mo.* An English translation of which appeared in 1753, in 8vo. printed for R. Willock in Cornhill, and contains many curious and important passages relating to England.

* This Mr. Beling, though a Papist, was in great confidence with Chancellor Clarendon, acted as interpreter between him and Count d'Estrades, was in the whole secret of this negociation, and for this was recommended by his minister, to Lewis XIV. for a present which he received.

† *Ambassades d'Estrades*, p. 387. English Translation, p. 228.

‡ An incautious writer might cite this as a proof out of the chancellor's own mouth, that he alone was the author of this measure, and not either the general, the treasurer, or the earl of Sandwich. But, though the chancellor might say so, it was not true, at least, if we believe his own account; but was thrown out partly to force d'Estrades to make a greater offer. The chancellor did not want address, but d'Estrades had more.

§ *Ambassades d'Estrades*, p. 430, 431. English Translation, p. 241, 252.

September, gave full powers, under his hand, to the chancellor, the treasurer, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, to proceed therein, and to conclude it. * It was signed, accordingly, on the 27th of October, 1662, by the commissioners on both sides; and, in a letter dated November 6, Count d'Estrades tells the king, his master, that King Charles, the duke of York, and the chancellor, were the only persons from whom he had met with no opposition; and, in consequence of this, and much more to the same purpose, that monarch wrote a letter to his brother of England, and another to the chancellor, to thank them for their obliging conduct in that affair. †

The chancellor himself, who best knew his own thoughts, and who could certainly give the clearest account of his own actions, places the whole of this affair in another point of view. ‡ He ascribes the original motion, for the sale of Dunkirk, to the French king, to the lord-high-treasurer Southampton; and, upon his communicating it to the chancellor, he expressed himself very warmly against the proposition. He next informs us, that a cabinet-council was called, at which his majesty, the duke of York, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, were present, as well as himself and the treasurer, at whose request this meeting was appointed; and who humourously advised his majesty to take away the chancellor's staff, for fear he should make a rough use of it when he knew the subject they were met upon. In this cabinet-council, the sale of Dunkirk was debated, and resolved for the reasons which the chancellor mentions in his memoirs. ‡ This was

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 760, where the commission is preserved.

† Ambassades d'Estrades, p. 508. English Translation, p. 297.

‡ The earl of Clarendon wrote a vindication of his own conduct against the accusation of the House of Commons, dated at Montpellier, July 24, 1668. This may be found in his Tracts, and his account of this transaction, p. 33. See also his Memoirs, p. 201.

§ The reasons are inserted also in the Vindication, and in effect were these: 1. That the place, being no harbour, was of little utility;

previous to the inviting over d'Estrades, who had been in England, and treated with the chancellor upon affairs of state before; and had so far recommended himself to the king and the chancellor, as he was indeed a minister of great address, that they were both desirous of treating with him again. What the chancellor said to d'Estrades, was to engage him to raise his price; for he at first talked only of two millions, because that was the sum at which it had been valued by Cromwell, as has been mentioned in another place; * however, he was afterwards brought to offer three millions, and at last to add two millions more for the artillery, ammunition, military stores, and the materials for building; which sum, it appears, that all the commissioners, except the chancellor, thought too little, and upon that account concluded the bargain with reluctance. † This drew an immediate odium upon the chancellor. His bitterest enemy, the earl of Bristol, put it the next year into his accusation against him: the people called the house he was building **DUNKIRK HOUSE**; and it was mentioned afresh in the articles that were framed against him, by the House of Commons, upon his disgrace. ‡

The discussing this matter having led me so far, I think myself obliged to go a little farther, that I may not seem to have exculpated the duke of Albemarle at the expense

2. That the charge of keeping it was more than the crown could afford; 3. That the keeping it would necessarily involve the nation in a war.

* See p. 249, in the notes.

† So the Count d'Estrades says expressly, and complains extremely of the trouble given him in wording the treaty by the other commissioners, and commending highly the assiduity of the chancellor, though he knew it rendered him obnoxious.

‡ See the earl of Bristol's articles in the Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 265. Echard, p. 809. See also Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 249. Proceedings in the case of Edward earl of Clarendon, 1700, 8vo.

of other counsellors, who, in my conscience, I think as innocent as he was. The true state then of the matter, at least to me, appears to have been this : The revenue settled upon the king, in customs, excise, and hearth-money, amounted to one million two hundred thousand pounds; and the constant stated expense of the king's government to upwards of one million four hundred thousand pounds; though that of his household came but to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.* There was consequently a deficiency of upwards of two hundred thousand pounds a year.† The weight of this, as the chancellor well observes, being chiefly felt by the treasurer, suggested to him the inquiry into the utility and worth of Dunkirk; and finding or believing he had found, good reasons for the parting with it; he was thereby led to make the proposal, as it would take away one half of the annual exceeding; and, at the same time, furnish the king with a large sum of money, of which he was then in the greatest want.‡ This measure seems to have been taken about a year after the king's restoration; and, we may be sure, was taken without any sinister or iniquitous views, since it came from the great and good earl of Southampton, whose character was never yet aspersed.§ It has, indeed, been said, that the king was moved to it chiefly out of consideration for certain ladies; and, perhaps, when this comes to be explained, there will not appear to be any great harm in that: for

* See this stated at large, from the earl of Halifax's MSS. in Ralph's History, vol. i. p. 89.

† This would have been the case, if the funds, given by parliament, had actually produced what they were given for; whereas they fell short no less than three hundred thousand pounds.

‡ Earl of Clarendon's Life, p. 202.

§ The king, at the instance of General Monk, made Sir Edward Harley governor of Dunkirk immediately after his return; and would have constituted him governor for life, consequently had then no thoughts of selling it. When he had, he removed him by warrant, dated May 22, 1661.

these ladies were, the queen his mother, the queen his consort, and the Princess Henrietta Maria his sister, who was to be married to the duke of Orleans, and for whom a portion was to be provided out of this money. *

If the reader be desirous of knowing how this came to be afterwards considered in so foul a light, and why so much pains had been taken to shift the odium from one minister upon another; it will be necessary to observe, that, at the time of the transaction, there were no very loud complaints, but they grew up afterwards from a variety of causes. 1. The cabal formed against the earl of Clarendon represented this as a base and corrupt measure, because they were pleased to style it his measure: and every minister that is to be removed by a faction, must first be placed in the blackest light. † 2. The Spanish party joined themselves to these: they did not consider whether the measure was right or wrong, as it regarded England; but they knew that it was injurious to Spain, and therefore they heartily joined in decrying the minister, to whose account it was placed. ‡ 3. The French court,

* Upon reviewing this evidence, it appears, 1. That the French king was displeased at the negotiations being communicated to the military men, and consequently had not corrupted them. 2. The chancellor managed the whole transaction, brought it to bear, and for this had the thanks of the French king. 3. Monk was not satisfied with the price, or privy to the sale, till the price was settled. 4. Upon the treasurer's proposal, the design of selling Dunkirk was taken up, carried on, and concluded, not by Monk, but the chancellor. 5. The money was carefully expended, and not squandered. *Clarendon's Life*, p. 205.

† See the Earl of Clarendon's Vindication against the Eleventh Article of the Charge against him by the House of Commons. Coke, Kennet, Echard, Burnet, as before cited. Sir Thomas Osborne, who was afterwards duke of Leeds, affirmed, on the authority of a great lord whom he did not name, that the chancellor made a bargain for the sale of Dunkirk nine months before it was known. See Chandler's *Debates of the House of Commons*, vol. i. p. 108.

‡ It appears evidently from d'Estrade's Letters, and indeed from all the authentic papers of that time, the chancellor was pushed by the

though at the time the bargain was made, they had pretended a perfect indifference, whether Dunkirk was delivered up to Spain, annexed to the crown of England, or demolished; yet, after they were once possessed of it, they magnified its importance, and the great policy of their monarch in procuring it. * 4. The Dunkirk that was thus sold, was by no means the Dunkirk that it afterwards was: Lewis XIV. spent many millions sterling † in improving and fortifying it; not because the place deserved it, but that it was the only port by which he could annoy us. ‡ 5. After it was thus improved and fortified, all those inconveniences taken away which made it useless in our hands, and a multitude of works raised, for which England would never have been at the expense; it became such a thorn in our sides, and we were made so thoroughly sensible of its importance, in the situation it then stood; that it is no wonder at all posterity believed whatever they were told, of the iniquity of selling this place, and heartily

Spanish party, who had the earl of Bristol at their head, a man of great parts, and who was particularly able in intrigue.

* As much indifference as the French king expressed about the place, while the negociation was depending, he vaunted sufficiently the advantage accruing to him from the bargain, as soon as it was made. His troops took possession November 28, 1662. He made his public entry, and caused TE DEUM to be sung in his presence on the 2d of December. He caused two medals to be instantly struck. On the reverse of the first was, *Providentia principis Dunquerha recuperata*; i. e. "By the skill of the prince, Dunkirk recovered;" on the reverse of the second, a jetton or counter, a brazen tower with a golden shower falling on it with these words; *Sic vincit amicos*; i. e. "Thus we get the better of our friends." As if this had not been insulting enough, a third was struck the next year, with the brazen tower and golden shower again, with this legend; *Ictu fulmineo potentior*; i. e. "By a stroke surpassing thunder;" on the reverse, Justice menacing two harpies with her sword, and these words; *Harpyas pellere regno*. See Gerard Van Loon Hist. Metallique, tom. ii. p. 489.

† Boulainvilliers etat de la France, tom. i. p. 347.

‡ See the importance of Dunkirk considered, and other Tracts in the reign of Queen Anne.

detested the ministers, whoever they were, by whom the measure was taken; though certainly they did not, indeed could not, perceive the consequences.

But, however, the state of the king's affairs; the difficulty and expense of keeping the place; and the impossibility of foreseeing then what afterwards happened; taking in also the known characters of the persons concerned; may excuse them from any suspicion of corruption, or ill intention in this transaction: yet, the sale of Dunkirk to the French is a thing never to be vindicated. For it was not acquired by the king's arms; and, therefore, whatever right he might have to restore, it is not easy to discern how he could have any to sell it. In the next, the House of Commons had prepared and passed a bill for annexing it to the crown of England, which would have thrown the charge of maintaining it upon them: and though it be true, that the motive to this bill has been misrepresented, by supposing it was meant to hinder what afterwards happened, whereas, in fact, it took its rise from the Spanish ambassador's demanding it, in a peremptory manner; yet, assuredly, it shewed, that the sense of the nation was for preserving it. Lastly, the merchants, even at the time it was sold, expressed great apprehensions of the mischiefs that might be done to trade, by privateers fitted out from thence: and these were reasons sufficient to have deterred the king, and his ministers, from parting with it, unless by consent of parliament; which, if we consider what afterwards happened in regard to Tangier, it will not appear impossible that they might have obtained; and, whether they could or not, they ought at least to have desired.

When the first Dutch war broke out in 1664, we find the duke of Albemarle's name among the lords of the council subscribing the proclamation; * and there seems

* The reader will find the proclamation at large in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 272.

to be no reason to doubt, that he was very hearty in that measure : whereas the chancellor, and the treasurer, were both extremely against it. * The duke of York, as we have before seen, at the commencement of the war, commanded the fleet in person : and, upon this occasion, he devolved the whole administration of the admiralty on the duke of Albemarle ; and this with such circumstances of confidence, as evidently demonstrated his sense of his grace's capacity and fidelity. † This, added to all his former employments, might have sufficiently marked the confidence reposed in him, and have even rendered the conferring on him any other charge, a thing not at all expected : and yet, when the plague broke out in the succeeding year, and the king saw himself obliged to leave his capital ; he entrusted the care of it, of his subjects, and the chief concerns of his kingdom, to this good duke ; who resided at the Cock-pit near Whitehall, and, with the assistance of the earl of Craven, and some other public-

* Life of the Earl of Clarendon, p. 200.

† This epistle deserves the reader's perusal, because it is a direct proof of the falsehood of the assertion, that the duke of Albemarle left his credit soon after the Restoration. It runs thus : " My lord duke of ALBEMARLE, having formerly by the king's approbation desired you to take the care of giving all necessary orders for the affairs of the navy during my absence, in the same manner as I ought to do if present, I should not now need to repeat it to you, were it not to acquaint you, that I have not only by word of mouth, but also by writing, given the principal officers and commanders of his majesty's navy, directions to execute all commands. I desire you, if you find any commanders or other officers negligent in the dispatch expected from them for his majesty's service, not to be sparing in using your authority for their punishment, whether by displacing them, or such other way as you shall think fit. I have commanded my secretary to leave with you all such things as may be necessary for your information ; if any thing be wanting, upon the least intimation it shall be supplied. So bidding you heartily farewell, I am, &c.

" March 22, 1664-5. JAMES."

This letter was transcribed from a MS. in the hands of the late Lord Frederick Howard.

spirited persons of distinction, took care of the health, the properties, and the government of the inhabitants of this great city; distributing daily the vast charities that were raised for the supply of the distressed: giving audience to all who had any business with him; directing the affairs of the navy, while we were engaged in a war of such consequence; and giving a constant account of whatever happened to the king and his ministers at Oxford.* Such was the courage, such were the labours, of this great man, who, in the midst of devouring infection, did, in a manner, the whole business of the nation: and yet this is he who is said to have forfeited all personal regard, and to have become useless in a short time after the Restoration.

While he was still charged with all these fatiguing offices, the king, in the spring of the succeeding year, sent for him suddenly to Oxford. He went thither post; and on his arrival, after paying his compliments to his majesty, and giving him a succinct account of the posture in which he had left affairs at London, he was told, that the intent of sending for him thither was, to make him joint admiral of the fleet with Prince Rupert; and that he must immediately prepare to go to sea. He desired a day's time to consider of it; in which interim he consulted with his friends, who were almost unanimously against his accepting that command. They said, that he had already established his character as a soldier, seaman, and statesman; and that it was unreasonable, at his time of life, for him to stake all the honours he had won on the fortune of a day: that the Dutch were already driven into that fury which made them most dangerous at sea; and that attacking them now was quite another thing than it was at the

* Skinner's *Life of Monk*, p. 331—333. Gumble's *Life of Monk*, p. 414—420. The earl of Clarendon gives quite another account of this matter; and assures us, that, being informed it was highly for the king's service, the duke of Albemarle accepted at once, and even offered, if it was thought necessary, to serve under Prince Rupert.

beginning of the war: that, in short, the loss of a battle would exceedingly tarnish his reputation; whereas a victory gained, could add very little thereto.

The duke thanked them for the respect they had shewn for his person and character; but at the same time added, "these were out of the case; that he valued neither farther than they were useful to his country; and that he was determined to obey the king's commands, since he was sure he either should accomplish them, or die in the attempt." * Having accepted this commission, he returned to London the third day; and though the war and the plague had both made great havock among the seamen; yet it was no sooner known, that the duke of Albemarle was to command the fleet, than great numbers offered themselves to the service, because, as they phrased it, they were sure, "honest George," for so they called the duke, "would see them well fed, and justly paid." †

His grace, in conjunction with Prince Rupert, used such diligence in equipping the fleet, that on the 23d of April, being St. George's day, they took leave of the king, and fell down the river, in one of the royal barges, to join the fleet. When they arrived in the Downs, the king received intelligence, that the French had fitted out a stout squadron to join with the navy of the States; upon which he was prevailed upon to send down positive orders to Prince Rupert to sail, with twenty of the best frigates in the fleet, to fight the French squadron before it could join the Dutch. This, without question, had been a right measure, if the king's intelligence had been well founded; but, as in truth there was no such French squadron, so the taking away so great a part of the fleet exposed the remainder exceedingly. Some have suggested, that there was treachery in this; and indeed, from Sir John Har-

* *Memoirs of the Dutch Wars.* Skinner's *Life of Monk*, p. 335. *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, p. 471.

† *Memoirs of the Dutch Wars*, p. 39.

man's letter, giving an account of the battle which ensued, one would apprehend, that he was of this opinion. * It is, however, easy to account for the thing otherwise ; and, by laying all circumstances together, I must own myself persuaded, that this intelligence proceeded from the arts of the French ; who, by pretending to equip a great squadron, and to send it early to sea, thought to amuse both us and the Dutch ; and to engage us, by dint of these preparations, to take false measures, in which they succeeded ; for the Dutch fleet actually expected to be joined by them, as certainly as Prince Rupert did to meet them. †

The duke of Albemarle, commanding now alone, discovered, on the 1st of June, the Dutch fleet, consisting of about seventy-six sail of large ships ; whereas his grace had not more than fifty. We have already given an account of this battle ; ‡ and shall here therefore confine ourselves to such circumstances as concern the duke's personal behaviour. He immediately called a council of war, composed of some of the gallantest men that ever bore commands in the English navy ; and there, “ In regard
“ several good ships, besides the Royal Sovereign, then
“ at anchor in the Gun-fleet, neither fully manned nor
“ ready, would, upon their retreat, be in danger of a
“ surprizal by the enemy, and that such a course might
“ make some impression upon the spirit and courage of
“ the seamen, who had not been accustomed to decline
“ fighting with the Dutch, it was at last unanimously
“ resolved to abide them, and that the fleet should pre-
“ sently be put in readiness to fall into a line.” § Thus it appears, that this was an act done by the whole council of war, and upon very rational motives ; so that to charge the duke with running too great a hazard, from his contempt of the Dutch, is treating his memory ill, without any just

* Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 281.

† Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 138. De Neuville Vie De Ruyter.

‡ See p. 352.

§ Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 340.

grounds. * The first day the enemy gained little or no advantage, notwithstanding their great superiority; this was entirely owing to the duke's example, who, though he was once obliged to be towed out of the line; yet, after making the necessary repairs in his rigging, bore into the centre of the Dutch fleet, where he engaged De Ruyter with incredible fury, † hoping his own success might have opened a path to victory.

The next morning the duke called a second council of war, in which he delivered himself thus: "If we had
 "dreaded the number of our enemies, we should have
 "fled yesterday; but, though we are inferiour to them in
 "ships, we are in all things else superiour. Force gives
 "them courage; let us, if we need it, borrow resolution
 "from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed.
 "Let the enemy feel, that, though our fleet be divided,
 "our spirit is entire. At the worst, it will be more
 "honourable to die bravely here on our own element,
 "than to be made spectacles to the Dutch. To be over-
 "come is the fortune of war, but to fly is the fashion of
 "cowards. Let us teach the world, that Englishmen had
 "rather be acquainted with death than with fear." ‡

* Bishop Burnet says, that the English fleet, by the end of the fight, was quite unrigged, and were in no condition to work themselves off; so that they must have been all taken, sunk, or burnt, if Prince Rupert had not come in good time. The court gave out that it was a victory, and public thanksgivings were ordered; which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had in one respect reason to thank God, that we had not lost our whole fleet.—History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 377, 378. This account is visibly false; for if the Dutch could have destroyed our whole fleet, and were forced to sheer off without doing it, this was a victory, the enemy's purpose being defeated. But the Dutch admiral owned the fact to be otherwise, and that the duke with the English fleet, before Prince Rupert's arrival, were aggressors, to the last.

† Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 341.

‡ See his History of the Composing the Affairs of England by the Restoration, &c. p. 88. Echard's History of England, p. 830.

The engagement began about eight, and continued till it was night; but our fleet suffered so much, that in a council of war, holden in the afternoon, it was resolved to make a fair retreat, which the duke performed the next day, with great prudence and honour. In the evening of that day, Prince Rupert with his squadron came in; and the duke's fleet endeavouring to join it, the Royal Prince, commanded by Sir George Ayscue, ran aground, and was burnt by the enemy. Before night, however, the English fleets joined; and then it was unanimously resolved in a council of war, that it would be injurious to his majesty's honour, and the reputation of the British fleet, to suffer the Dutch to return with any appearance of an advantage; and that therefore they should attack them the next day as early as possible, which was accordingly done; when the duke, notwithstanding his hard service in the three former engagements, passed, in conjunction with the prince, five times through the enemy's fleet; and had in all probability beaten them at last, if, by an unlucky accident, the prince's ship had not been disabled, and soon after the duke's, which, however, did not hinder their firing upon the Dutch till it was dark. *

Two days after, the fleet returned to our own coast, and the prince and duke to London. On the report of this extraordinary action, many took the liberty, as his friends foresaw they would, to censure the duke of Albemarle's conduct; but the king, having thoroughly examined the matter, declared himself fully satisfied with his behaviour; adding, that it was grounded upon reason and necessity; and that the honour of the nation was deeply concerned in it; that he had thereby given the greatest instance of his own, and of the English valour; and had raised the reputation of our naval force to such a height of glory as would render it for ever terrible to its enemies, as well as relied upon and respected by its friends. †

* See p. 355.

† See before, p. 357.

The Dutch fleet, having suffered less, was again very soon at sea; but they had not been long upon our coast, before, to their amazement, the English fleet came out of the Thames, and then they stood over to their own. On the 24th of July, both fleets were in sight of each other; and the next day, by six in the morning, a bloody battle began, wherein the English gained a clear and complete victory, and the Dutch were driven into their own ports. Upon this there followed the burning of the town of Brandaris, as our people called it, by Sir Robert Holmes; where the enemy's loss, as Mr. Echard tells us, on the authority of a good MS. in the paper-office, fell very little short of a million sterling.* This was the last great action performed at sea by the duke of Albemarle.

On his return, he found the city of London lying in ashes; a misfortune which, however, redounded to his reputation; since the people said openly in the streets, as he passed, that "if his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt;" which is such an extravagant mark of veneration and affection for his person, as could arise only from their perfect satisfaction in regard to what he had formerly performed; and it must also add much to his character, in the opinion of all true judges of merit, that he was recalled from the command of the fleet by his majesty, purely to quiet the minds of the people upon this misfortune.†

In the spring of the year 1667, the king had some new advices given him, in regard to the management of his navy, which were by no means approved by the duke of Albemarle. The drift of them was this: that, as the

* History of England, p. 831.

† See Dr. Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, his Sermon, entitled, "The Christian's Victory over Death, preached at the Duke of Albemarle's Funeral, the 30th of April, 1670, in St. Peter's Church, in the Abbey of Westminster;" London, 1670, 4to. p. 12. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 366.

Dutch were chiefly supported by trade, as the supply of their navy depended upon trade, and, as experience shewed, nothing provoked the people so much as injuring their trade; his majesty should therefore apply himself to this, which would effectually humble them, at the same time that it would less exhaust us, than fitting out such mighty fleets as had hitherto kept the sea every summer.

Sir John Lawson was particularly fond of this doctrine, which, by degrees, grew acceptable to the king; not so much from a persuasion of its being just and reasonable, as from a sense that it suited with his own condition; the vast expenses of his court rendering it very difficult to raise such sums as were requisite to keep up the navy. Besides, there was a peace then treating, and the king had the strongest assurances given him from the French court, on purpose to betray and mislead him, that the Dutch would fit out no fleet that summer; and, upon these motives, the king took a fatal resolution of laying up his great ships, and keeping only a few frigates on the cruize.*

The De Wittes, who had perfect intelligence of all that passed here; and who, perhaps, wanted not some friends to propound such destructive measures as were then pursued; immediately availed themselves of this opportunity; and, having first amused the king with an attempt in Scotland, grounded on their resentment, as it was said, for the injuries done their trade by privateers from thence; they, in the midst of summer, came with a formidable fleet, piloted by our own traitors, into the mouth of the Thames, and on Thursday the 11th of June, 1667, appeared before Chatham.† In this trying circumstance, the most dishonourable to the English nation that perhaps ever happened in any reign, the duke of Albemarle was immediately thought of as the fittest person to raise the spirits of the people by his presence; and to defeat the enemy's

* See p. 371, 372. † See p. 373.

designs by his conduct. He did all, and even more than could be expected from him, to frustrate the scheme of the De Witte's; but such a panic had struck the people, and such a want of capacity was visible in those who had the direction of the king's yards, that his orders were very indifferently obeyed. *

He caused, however, several ships to be sunk in the narrow passage by the Mussel-Bank, and took such other precautions as were of much service; and, had he been well seconded, there is the greatest reason in the world to believe that the Dutch had reaped no great credit from this undertaking; at least, this was the opinion of the parliament, who highly approved the duke's conduct; and, on the narrative he presented to them in relation to this affair, they impeached Commissioner Pett, relying implicitly, as to facts, on the credit of what his grace was pleased to tell them; † so that it was a just observation, and, at the same time, a well-turned panegyric, of a learned prelate, when he said of the duke's behaviour in this unlucky business, "That even where the issue of the whole matter was not very prosperous, God was pleased to order his part so, that he came off with immortal honour and reputation." ‡

After the Dutch war was over, and the king much inclined to do his people a pleasure, he thought fit, on the decease of the earl of Southampton, to put the treasury into commission: yet, that it might not be surmised the public was in any danger from the loss of so great and so good a man as the treasurer was universally allowed to be, the duke of Albemarle was put at the head

* See his grace's account of this matter presented to parliament, which may be found in several books, but particularly in the *History and Proceedings of the House of Commons*, printed for Chandler, vol. i. p. 114.

† See the heads of this impeachment, in Echard, p. 853.

‡ Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, in his *Funeral Sermon on the Duke of Albemarle*.

of that commission: and this was the last mark of royal favour in this kind which he received; for losing his health suddenly, which, till then he had surprisingly retained, in the midst of so many and so great fatigues, he chose to retire from public business; and to spend the remainder of his time in attending that dissolution which appeared to be at no great distance. *

Yet, having some relief from his distemper, which was a dropsy, by the assistance of one Dr. Sermon of Bristol; and, when he relapsed again, continuing long in a declining way, he still shewed much loyalty to the king, and a very warm affection for his country. Many visits he received from his majesty and the duke of York in his last sickness, whom he always entertained with strong and plain, but, at the same time, decent discourses on the impossibility of supporting the royal authority any other way than by pursuing the true interest of the nation. He was likewise attended by the most considerable persons in both houses of parliament, whom he exhorted to maintain, in their legislative capacities, a good correspondence with the crown and with each other. This, he said, was the only way to serve the people: for if once the passions of private men, or, which was the same thing in another dress, the particular interest of parties came to influence their debates, the public would reap no good fruits from them. With the same presence of mind he regulated the private concerns of his family, causing his only son to be married to the daughter of Lord Ogle in his chamber, on the 30th of December 1669; and, on the 3d of January following, he quietly yielded up his breath sitting in his chair, when he had lived nearly three score and two years. †

* Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 369.

† Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 461, 464. Annals of the Universe, p. 255. Echard's History of England, p. 863. Lord Arlington in his letter to Sir William Temple, dated January 7, 1670, says the

After speaking of him so fully in his public, it may not be amiss to say something of so great a man in his private capacity; the temper of his mind, and his abilities natural and acquired. As to his person, he was a strong well-built man, of a good presence, and very able to endure fatigue. The advantages he derived from nature were much strengthened by his manner of living. He was always an early riser; his private devotions, and whatever domestic concerns he had to manage, being constantly attended to, and despatched by seven o'clock; when he gave audience, without distinction, to all who desired it, and constantly made an end, if it were in his power, of every poor man's business on the spot. He was an enemy to all oppression in the army; and used frequently to say, that his officers should have power to command and to protect; but not to terrify or pillage the soldiers.* He was a strict observer of discipline, of which he gave a signal instance at the end of the first Dutch war in Cromwell's time. The seamen came to the navy-office in crowds to demand their prize-money: he told them, that there were fifteen hundred ships to be sold; and that, as soon as they were sold, they should have their money, with which they seemed to be satisfied; but in the afternoon there came four or five thousand of them, armed, towards Whitehall; which Monk hearing, met them at Charing-cross in company with Cromwell and some other officers; where, without much expostulation, he drew his sword, and wounded several of them, upbraiding them with not depending upon his word, who never broke it; which had such an effect upon them, that,

gazette will tell you of the loss we have had of my lord-general, and the resentment his majesty hath of it. I pray God we may not need the wishing him alive again.

* See Gumble's *Life of Monk*, p. 467, which, in these circumstances, deserves the more to be depended upon, since the author was a constant eye-witness of what he wrote.

forgetting their former fury, they tamely retired, and were afterwards very honestly paid. *

He was extremely moderate in his way of living, eating but one meal a-day, and that homely, and heartily. He despised and hated drinking; and having settled his affections on the woman he married, was a tender and constant husband through the course of his life. As a father, he shewed more of passion than in any part of his character; for, on the loss of his second son George, in Scotland, he gave way to his grief to such a degree, as surprised all who were acquainted with the firmness of his temper in other respects. † His valour was very singular; for he was fierce without losing his temper, and had an extraordinary measure of patience, joined with boundless courage: and these qualities he possessed as much as ever, even in the decline of life. In the second Dutch war, a chain-shot took away his breeches, yet he never altered his countenance or his place. ‡ In the Chatham business, apprehending the Dutch would land, he exposed himself in the midst of their cannon shot, that his example might keep others to their duty, and defeat the design of the enemy, as it did: and when a person of distinction expostulated with him on this head, and would have persuaded him to retire; he answered very coolly, "Sir, if I had been afraid of bullets, I should " have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago." §

* Lives, English and Foreign, p. 144, where it is said he cut off a man's nose, and gave him 10l. as a satisfaction.

† Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 70. Gumble, p. 475.

‡ Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 550. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 342. The duke of Buckinghamshire gives us a much stronger proof of his resolution, on his own knowledge; for he says the duke of Albemarle declared, at the beginning of the action, that he was sure of one thing, viz. that he would not be taken, and that he saw him charge a little pocket-pistol with powder, which his grace believed he would have fired into the powder-room, in case the Dutch had boarded him. See his Memoirs, prefixed to his works, p. 6.

§ Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 450.

His capital virtues were, prudence and modesty: the former, enabled him to perform the great things he did; and the latter, restrained him from ever valuing himself on the great things he had done. He was equally dear to the king, and to the nation; and it was his peculiar felicity, that he had the affection of both without incurring the jealousy of either. He would have retired immediately after the restoration, if his country could have spared him; and when he saw it could not, he served it as cheerfully as before. He served it, in how many capacities? He commanded the army in chief, when the king and the nation's safety depended upon that command. He was put at the head of a commission for managing the treasury, or rather settling it. His activity was necessary for suppressing all insurrections; his presence was thought requisite in the highest courts of justice. If he were entrusted by the king with the army, he was likewise entrusted by the duke with the fleet. He had the care of the city, when visited with the plague; the command of the navy, when we made war with France and Holland at the same time. He was sent for to recover the minds of the citizens after the fire; he was sent to meet the threatening invasion of the Dutch; and as he made way for the treasurer Southampton, so, on his death, he was thought the only man that could replace him. Well then, might secretary Nicholas, that able and faithful servant of the crown, say, and he said it when the duke had done a few only of these great things, "That, independent of his merit in the restoration, the duke of Albemarle, by his indefatigable zeal, and successful services afterwards, had merited more than his prince could do for him." * Such was the man whom his master was not ashamed to call his

* Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 407. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 318. Lord Lansdown's Works, vol. ii. p. 267. The reader will observe, that Secretary Nicholas was a strict dependent on the Chancellor Clarendon, who had no great love for the duke of Albemarle.

FATHER; because indeed, he was the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY! *

When his son went to wait upon the king with the ensigns of the order of the garter, his majesty was pleased to restore them to him; the king likewise directed the duke's body to be removed to Somerset-house, where it lay for many weeks in state; and, on the last day of April, was removed, with great funeral pomp, to Westminster abbey, and there interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel. † Yet, as if his fame had stood in need of no such support, a monument was neglected; only those who have the care of the place preserve his figure in wax, and think it sufficient, to raise the admiration of every loyal spectator, to say, "This is General Monk!"

He left behind him an only son, Christopher, duke of Albemarle, to whom both King Charles and King James shewed great respect. It must be confessed, that he had not his father's abilities either in the cabinet or in the field; but he was a generous, good-natured man, and lessened considerably the very large estate that was left him, by indulging in pleasures which his father despised: ‡ yet he had many good qualities, and particularly that of sheltering and encouraging merit in distress. He gave a singular instance of this in support of Captain Phipps, afterwards Sir William Phipps, and governor of New

* Lives, English and Foreign, p. 188. It was said of him after his decease by the king, that the duke of Albemarle never over-valued the services of General Monk. What those services were, appears in the preambles to the patents of the duke of Albemarle and the earl of Bath, where the restoration is ascribed to them by the king himself.

† Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 297. Historian's Guide, p. 77. The bishop of Salisbury's sermon before cited. It may perhaps deserve the reader's notice, if we remark, that his grace, John, duke of Marlborough, then Ensign Churchill, attended at this funeral, and is the last person mentioned in the London Gazette, which describes that solemnity.

‡ Lives, English and Foreign, p. 196.

England. He came over to make a proposal for fishing on a wreck on the coast of Hispaniola; and made the design appear so highly probable, and, at the same time, so practicable; that King Charles the Second granted him a ship called the Algier Rose, and furnished him with whatever was thought necessary for the undertaking; which, however, failed of success, and Captain Phipps returned as poor and as positive as ever. *

He endeavoured to obtain from King James II. who by this time was on the throne, another ship, but to no purpose; afterwards, he set on foot a proposal for making it a private adventure; for which he was at first laughed at, till the duke of Albemarle engaged in the design, and advanced a considerable sum of money towards fitting him out. He quickly completed the rest; and in the year 1687, sailed in the Bridgewater Merchant, a ship of two hundred tons, on the same scheme; proposing to make an equal distribution of the profits on twenty shares, into which the expense of the undertaking was divided. †

He was more lucky in his second enterprize, though not till his patience was almost worn out; and afterwards prosecuted his design with such success, that in a short space he returned to England with three hundred thousand pounds in silver. On his arrival, there wanted not some who would have persuaded the king to seize his ship and cargo, under pretence that Captain Phipps had not given an exact information, when he applied for his licence, and the royal assistance: but his majesty generously answered, that he knew the captain to be an honest man, and a man of honour; and that, if he had brought home twice as much treasure, his proprietors should divide it. His majesty farther expressed his

* Life of Sir William Phipps, Knt. by Increase Mather, London, 1697, 12mo. sec. v. p. 10.

† Lives, English and Foreign, p. 196.

satisfaction, by knighting him. * The duke of Albemarle had for his share ninety thousand pounds; and Sir William about twenty thousand pounds. †

This piece of good fortune is thought to have engaged the duke of Albemarle to ask King James for the government of Jamaica, which he obtained: but, if it was with a view to reap farther advantages from that or other wrecks, he was disappointed; for whether it was that the treasure was exhausted, or that, the ship being broken up, the sea by degrees dissipated its contents, certain it is, that nothing of consequence could afterwards be obtained from that wreck. ‡ His grace's free way of living, especially in regard to the bottle, rendered that a very unfit climate for him to live in; and therefore we need not wonder, that he did not long enjoy his government, but died in the year following without issue; and so this noble family became extinct. §

MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL MONTAGUE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF SANDWICH, AND KNIGHT OF THE GARTER.

FAME belongs of right to all those who have deserved well of society; but the supreme degree of glory ought to wait on the memory of such illustrious persons as have been martyrs for their country, and voluntarily died

* Life of King James II. p. 392.

† There was on this occasion a fine medallion struck, with the faces of the king and queen on one side, with their titles, and on the reverse a ship at anchor, and the boats fishing on the wreck: the inscription, *Semper tibi pendeat hamus*; the sense is, "Always watch, you'll something catch:" the exergue, "*Naufragia reperata*," i. e. "the shipwreck repaired." The duke of Albemarle, to shew his sense of Sir William's integrity, gave lady Phipps, a cup of gold worth a thousand pounds.

‡ British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 319. Echard's History of England, p. 1094.

§ British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 320.

either to serve or to preserve it. If this be a just position, as must be allowed by every man who thinks; then the noble person, whose memoirs are at present to employ our care, ought ever to be revered by Britons. His life was an uniform scene of patriotism and public spirit; his death so extraordinary a strain of exalted courage, that, as few facts in modern history come near it, so none in more ancient and less corrupted times can be justly said to exceed it.

To speak of the antiquity or nobility of this family, would be an idle waste of words; the very name of Montague is sufficient to inform every intelligent reader of all that I could say on that subject.

Mr. Edward Montague was the only surviving son of Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward Lord Montague of Boughton.* He was born July 27, 1625; † and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could bestow, came very early into the world, and into business; especially if we consider the times in which he lived, and the qualities necessary for men to be distinguished in them.

He married, when little above seventeen, the daughter of Mr. Crew, afterwards Lord Crew of Stene; ‡ and being thought more warmly affected to the cause of the parliament than his father Sir Sidney Montague was, who had been expelled his seat for refusing to take an oath to live and die with the earl of Essex, and giving such a reason for it as it was easier to punish than answer; §

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 729. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 221.

† Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 280.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. iii. p. 482.

§ Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 281. He told the speaker, "he would not swear to live with that nobleman, because he was an old man, and might die before him, nor would he swear to die with him, since the earl was going with an army against the king, which he did not know how to free from treason, and therefore could not

received a commission, dated August 20, 1643, to raise and command a regiment under the earl before mentioned. This colonel Montague, though but eighteen, performed; and, the interest of his family being very extensive, he took the field in six weeks.

He was present at the storming of Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmest actions in the course of that lamentable war. He was likewise in the battle of Marston-moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the same year, where he greatly distinguished himself; insomuch that soon after, when the city of York demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the commissioners for settling the articles; which must have been the pure effect of personal merit, since he was then but in his nineteenth year.* We find him next in the battle of Naseby; and in the month of July, 1645, he stormed the town of Bridgewater.† In September, he commanded a brigade in the storm of Bristol, where he performed very remarkable service; and, on the 10th of September, 1645, subscribed the articles of the capitulation, granted to Prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament;‡ the news of which, he was appointed to carry, in conjunction with Colonel Hammond; for which a thanksgiving was ordered.§

But after all this warm service in the army, at an age when few people have seen one, he shewed no inclination to make the sword the supreme power; but when, by the

“tell what end that great man might come to.” *Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 221. The parliament's expelling this gentleman merely for declaring his sentiments, is complained of in one of the king's declarations as a most arbitrary proceeding. *Clarendon's History*, vol. iii. p. 106.

* *Rushworth's Historical Collections*, vol. v. p. 637.

† *Ibid*, vol. vi. p. 56.

‡ *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 86. *Davies's History of the Civil Wars*, p. 164. *Rushworth's Collections under the year 1645*, p. 83, 86.

§ *Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 166.

artifices of their leaders, the soldiers declared against the parliament, and in June 1647, impeached eleven of its most worthy members, he forbore going to the house, where, when chosen, he sat as knight for Huntingdonshire. His acquaintance, however, with Cromwell; the court paid him by that artful man; and his own generous unsuspecting temper; drew him in to accept a seat at the board of treasury, and into a share of the transactions in those times, with which, upon reflection, he was very much dissatisfied. After the Dutch war was over, he was brought into a command of the fleet, and was made choice of by the protector to be joined with Blake, in his expedition into the Mediterranean. *

Admiral Montague found abundance of difficulties to struggle with, at the very entrance on this affair; many of the officers being displeased with the service in which they were to be engaged, and not a few, influenced by their scruples, insisted on laying down their commissions. He managed this intricate business with great prudence and dexterity, so as to shew a due and steady regard to discipline, without, however, running into any acts of severity: and this had a very happy effect; since, by the time he came to sail, the fleet was pretty well settled, and the officers in general disposed to act in obedience to orders. †

In the spring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, where himself and his colleague, Blake, meditated many great things. They once thought of attacking the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but, after attentively considering the port, it was resolved, in a council of war, that such an attempt was impracticable. Then Gibraltar was mentioned, as a place that would be of great utility, in case it could be reduced. Admiral

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 443. See p. 287.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 570, 571, 589, 594.

Montague, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe, gave his judgment of this project with great sagacity. According to his sentiments, the only method of taking that fortress was, to land a body of forces on the isthmus, and thereby cut off the communication of the town with the main; and, in this situation, to make a brisk attempt upon the place. Yet, as a proof of the fallibility of human understanding, we find, in this very letter, a proposal for sending five thousand land-forces, on account of the hasty disposition of the seamen, which rendered them unfit to perform any effectual service on shore.* When this place, however, long after, was actually taken, it was wholly owing to the vigour and activity of the sailors, and to that impetuosity in particular, which Admiral Montague imagined would be an hindrance in any enterprize of this kind.

When cruizing before Cadiz appeared to be of no great advantage, the fleet stood over to the opposite shore of Barbary, in order to repress the insolence of the Tripoli and Sallee rovers, which was found no very easy task; and therefore Admiral Montague could not forbear intimating his desire, that we should have some good port in Africa, which he believed might answer various ends, and especially conduce to the preservation and augmentation of our trade in the Levant. Hence, I suppose, grew the first notion of getting Tangier into our hands, of which, a year or two after, there was great discourse, as well as of the benefits that would redound to the nation from possessing it; and this, in all probability, might recommend the Portugal match so much to the favour of the earl of Manchester, who, it is likely, depended therein upon the judgment of Admiral Montague. At this time, however, we find our admiral more inclined to take that or some other place from the Portuguese by

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 67—69.

force; for he entertained a very bad opinion of their sincerity; though at last the terror of the English fleet compelled them to make such a composition as satisfied the protector, and disappointed Montague in his favourite design of attacking their Brazil fleet. *

The warmth he expressed in the discharge of his command, did not hinder the admiral from perceiving the great prejudice done to our trade by carrying on the Spanish war; of which he gives a fair and clear account in one of his despatches to the secretary, wherein he complains, that he saw the Dutch, Hamburgers, and Genoese, carrying on a mighty trade with Spain; which, as he observes, it was impossible for them to hinder, without engaging the state in a war with all the world; and therefore proposed, that a squadron of light frigates only might be kept in those seas; and that the fleet should be employed somewhere else to more advantage. †

However, the protector's orders being positive, they returned toward autumn into the road of Cadiz; where, in September following, Captain Stayner made prize of the galleons. A full account of their strength, and the money on board them, Admiral Montague sent into England as soon as they were taken; and, when he afterwards received directions to convoy the prizes home, he sent another account of the silver on board them, desiring at the same time, that some persons might be sent down to meet the fleet at Portsmouth, in order to take charge of the silver, and to make a farther search into the contents of the galleons. ‡

* Thurloe's Papers, vol. v. p. 194, 195.

† Ibid. vol. v. p. 170.

‡ This letter is directed to Secretary Thurloe, and dated aboard the Naseby, at sea, off the Lizard, October 22, 1656. In it he says, "There have been some miscarriages, by the ships that did take the ships of Spain; but I shall delay to tell of them here; and I judge the best way to improve mercies of this kind is, to look forward: however, that is my business at this time. The silver they brought,

The money, thus taken from the Spaniards, was, though undeservedly, the most popular act in all Cromwell's administration; and therefore, the utmost pains were taken to give the populace a very high idea of this advantage. The silver was carried in open carts, and ammunition waggons, through Southwark to the Tower of London; and, to make a shew of entire confidence in the people, these waggons had no greater guard than ten soldiers.* As for admiral Montague, he had all the compliments paid him, upon this occasion, that it was possible for him to desire; the protector caressed him exceedingly; the parliament, as we have elsewhere observed, returned him thanks by their speaker; and some other honours he had received, if with industry he had not declined them.†

In 1657, he was appointed to command the fleet in the Downs; and went accordingly on board it in the latter end of the month of July. The design of this fleet was to watch the Dutch; to carry on the war with Spain; and to facilitate the enterprize on Dunkirk; and in all these he did as much as could be expected from him. Toward autumn he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of the Marshal De Turenne, where he had a conference with him, in order to determine the properest me-

"is on board this ship, and the Vice-Admiral; in the Admiral, we have five hundred and fifty sous of silver, and boxes of plate, and nine pieces of silver not well refined, like sugar-loaves. In the Vice-Admiral there is a hundred and twenty-four sous of silver, all which we judge may produce near two hundred thousand pounds: I hope I speak the least, and that it will make much more. In the galleons' holds, also, there is that space between the main-mast and the bulk head of the bread room, not yet rummaged." *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. v. p. 509.

* This appears from a letter of the Dutch ambassador Nieuport, to the States-General, dated Nov. 17, N. S. 1656. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. v. p. 269.

† Lord Sandwich's Journal, MS. See also p. 289, in the notes.

thod of carrying on the war; and then returned on board the fleet, which cruized in the channel till the beginning of winter. * All this time he seems to have been in the highest favour with the protector, and to have had the strictest intimacy with his family; and yet, even then, the admiral entertained serious thoughts of retiring from public business. What the reason of this was, cannot, at this distance of time, be certainly recovered; but in all probability, the sense he had of the strange service he was put upon in assisting the French, and distressing the trade of all the rest of the world, made him uneasy. † One thing is remarkable, that, how much soever he disliked the orders that were sent to him, he executed them with the utmost punctuality; so that the Dutch, whose ships he searched for silver, made a heavy complaint against him. ‡

We may likewise gather, from his letters to Cromwell, and the instructions he received, that he was not a little embarrassed about the protector's future designs; and yet it is plain enough, that Richard desired the admiral should rather regulate things by his own discretion, than be able to justify himself, in respect to his conduct, from the letter of his orders. This particularly appears in the business of the flag; upon which that protector wrote him an epistle with his own hand, commanding, in express terms, that he should insist upon the honour of the flag from all nations, within the limits of the British seas, and yet telling him as expressly, that he knew not what those limits were; adding, at the same time, that

* These facts are collected from various letters in the sixth volume of Thurloe's State Papers.

† We have these particulars in a very curious letter from Lord Broghill to Mr. Montague, dissuading him from retiring. Dated from Youghall, Nov. 20, 1657. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 622.

‡ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 256.

he was to execute these orders with caution, since peace and war depended on them.*

After the death of Oliver, and the setting up of Richard, Admiral Montague was fixed upon to command the great fleet sent to the north; which, as it was in itself the wisest and best measure entered upon in those times; so this fleet was, beyond comparison, the most considerable that had been fitted out since the Dutch war; and therefore I think myself obliged to give a short account of it.† The Naseby, on board which the admiral hoisted his flag, carried seventy guns, and six hundred men; the Resolution had the like number of men, and eighty guns; there were fourteen ships carrying each fifty pieces of cannon and upwards, twenty-eight forty gun ships, or near it, four of thirty guns, besides twelve smaller vessels, carrying from twenty-two to twenty-eight pieces of cannon; in all sixty ships, and on board them eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty men.‡

The admiral went on board in the spring of the year 1659; and, on the 7th of April, he wrote to the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the Dutch admiral Opdam, to inform them of the motives that had induced the protector to send so strong a fleet into the Baltic; and that his instructions were not to respect the private advantage of England by making war, but the public tranquillity of Europe, by engaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace.§

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 633, where the reader may find Richard Cromwell's letter, of five lines, on this important subject.

† As to the true grounds of fitting out this fleet, and the ends it was intended to answer, consult Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 730. Heath's Chronicle, p. 416. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 363. Bates's Elenus Motuum, p. ii. p. 229, 230.

‡ This account I take from two lists in Thurloe's collection, and from one in MS

§ These letters are in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. and in Lord Sandwich's Journal.

Before the admiral sailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict instructions, which left him no real power, but obliged him to act in conjunction with their commissioners, Colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon; and, at the same time, they took an occasion to shew they had no great kindness for him, by giving away his regiment of horse; so that we may suppose he left England in none of the warmest dispositions for their service. * When he arrived in the Sound, he took his share with the other ministers in negociation, and made it sufficiently evident, that he had a genius as capable of shining in the cabinet, as of commanding at sea or on shore. While he was thus employed, King Charles, being very well informed as to his temper, principles, and strict conjunction with the protector's family, thought this a proper time, that family being entirely laid aside, to make a trial of his affections; and, therefore, sent a person with two letters, one from himself, and the other from Chancellor Hyde, to be delivered to him, if possible, without the privity of his colleagues.

The scheme was rational, and well laid, but the messenger very indifferently chosen. He was one whose loyalty was apt to dance upon his tongue in those perilous times, when wise men kept it close in their hearts; and it was with some difficulty that the admiral preserved him from suffering by his indiscretion. Yet these letters, and the persuasions of a near relation of his, who undertook to state the merits of the royal cause fairly, had such an effect on Admiral Montague's mind, that he returned immediately to his duty, and returned with all that warmth and sincerity incident to great minds, conscious of former failings. The service the king expected from him was sailing speedily back to England, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 680, 681.

persons of distinction, who were disposed to hazard their lives for the service of their country; on weighing which proposal, Mr. Montague found it so plausible, that he resolved to run any hazard, rather than not contribute as much as in him lay to put it in execution; conceiving that, if this opportunity was missed, another equally promising might not quickly happen. *

Colonel Algernon Sidney was a man of quick parts, and deep penetration; he soon discerned some change in Mr. Montague's conduct, and pursued his discoveries so closely, that he missed very little of coming at his whole secret. The admiral, observing his suspicions, called a council of war, and therein made a clear and close speech, in which he shewed them plainly the little hope there was of doing any thing for the honour of England, by remaining where they were; that to fight they had no authority, and, if they were to remain neuter, they might as well sail home. He then laid before them the accounts he had received from his and their native country, of the great struggles between the army and the parliament; whence he took occasion to hint, that themselves had a great stake there, and that, if a new government were to be settled, some respect ought to be had to the fleet. He concluded with saying, that he readily submitted his sentiments to a free debate, and that he was determined to act according to their judgment: but that one thing must be noted, provisions were already become scarce, it was very difficult to obtain supplies; and therefore, if they resolved to stay, they must resolve also to live at short allowance.

The question was soon decided; and, in consequence of the council's opinion, Admiral Montague weighed immediately, and sailed to England. † On his arrival, he found things in a very unexpected and disagreeable situa-

* Clarendon's History, vol. vi. p. 730, 731.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 426. Memoirs of the Restoration, a MS.

tion; Sir George Booth close prisoner in the Tower; the parliament restored to their authority; and a warm charge against himself come to hand from Colonel Sidney. Immediately on his arrival he set out for London, attended the parliament, and gave there an account of his conduct with so much wisdom and eloquence, that even such as disliked it knew not what to object; and were, therefore, very well satisfied with dismissing him from his command, to which Lawson was appointed, a rigid Anabaptist, and one in whom they had the greatest confidence. *

After such an escape, Mr. Montague, as it was very natural, withdrew to his own estate, with a design to enjoy, in privacy and peace, the remainder of his life: this made him concern himself very little, if at all, in the following public transactions before Monk's coming into England. After this, when that general shewed a desire that Admiral Montague should be restored to his command, he sent privately to the king for his approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he sent his majesty a list of such officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of such as he apprehended must be reduced by force. He likewise desired to know, whether the king had any assurance of the general; but was, at the same time so cautious, as to desire no notice might be taken to his excellency how his inclinations stood. †

On his coming on board the fleet, he found things strangely altered; for Lawson, from whom he expected most opposition, was become as ready to serve the king as himself: upon which he laid by all reserve; and, as soon as he received his majesty's letter, directed to himself and General Monk, he sailed with the fleet to Holland, leaving only two or three ships to attend the parliament-commissioners. This was a very warm testimony of his affection for the king's service, and as such was re-

* See p. 290.

† Clarendon's History, vol. vi. p. 764.

ceived by his majesty : but when it was observed, that the parliament-commissioners looked upon it as a mark of disrespect, the king was pleased to cover Mr. Montague, by sending him an order that was antedated. Soon after, he had the honour to convoy his majesty to England, who, within two days from his landing at Dover, sent Sir Edward Walker, garter king at arms, to deliver him his declaratory letters, with the ribband and George of the most noble order of the garter, which he presented him on the 28th of May, in the morning, in his ship, then riding in the Downs.*

Among the honours conferred upon such as had been particularly instrumental in restoring his majesty to his just rights, our admiral had his share ; and by letters patent, dated the 12th July, 1660, he was created Baron Montague of St. Neots, in the county of Huntingdon, Viscount Hinchinbrooke, in the same county, and earl of Sandwich in Kent ; sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council ; made master of the king's wardrobe ; admiral of the narrow seas ; and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of York, as lord high-admiral of England. At his majesty's coronation his lordship carried St. Edward's staff ; and was now looked upon as one of the king's principal ministers, as well as the person chiefly entrusted with the care of the fleet.† He constantly attended the council, when any transactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate, and always gave his opinion like a good subject and a true patriot. When the marriage

* Walker's Historical Account of the Knights of the Garter, a MS. p. 104. penes Joh. Anstis, arm. See also p. 297.

† Pat. 12 Car. II. Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 738, 739. Kennet's Chronicle, p. 417, in which there is a complete relation of the coronation ; at which ceremony his lordship, in conjunction with the dukes of Buckingham and Albemarle, and the earl of Berkshire, assisted in holding a rich pall, of cloth of gold, over the king's head, during the time that prince was anointing by the archbishop.

with the infanta was concluded, he brought her majesty over, and performed other services, as has been already mentioned. *

His lordship has been aspersed for joining, as is surmised, with the duke of Albemarle, in the project for giving up Dunkirk to the French. I have already examined this affair so fully, that I shall say but little of it here, and only as it relates to this noble person. The thing was proposed but by halves at the council; and, at first the strength and importance of the place was only canvassed: upon which the earl of Sandwich, who knew it as well as any man, said, that the coast of Dunkirk was generally so tempestuous, and the ground so rolling, upon every storm, that there never could be any certain steerage to the port. † This was the truth, and nothing more; yet was the earl far from proposing that it should be put into the hands of the French, though he judged it too expensive for his master to keep; and therefore he declared for demolishing it. ‡ How this proposition came to be rejected, I cannot say; but it is plain, that though the earl of Sandwich did not set a higher value upon Dunkirk, than, in the condition it was then, the place deserved; yet he never desired to see it fall into the hands of the French, as has been very falsely, and, I very much suspect, maliciously asserted.

When the Dutch war began, in 1664, the earl of Sandwich went heartily into the measure, as conceiving it for the honour and interest of England; and when the duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as high-admiral, his lordship commanded the blue squadron; and, by his industry and care, abundance of the enemy's ships were taken, and the best part of their Bourdeaux fleet. § In the great battle fought on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein

* See p. 323. † Which is the expression mentioned by Echard.

‡ The French king takes notice of this, in his answer to Count d'Estrades, August 27.

§ See p. 334.

the Dutch lost their admiral Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen destroyed; a large share of the honour of the victory was justly given to the conduct of the earl of Sandwich; who, about noon, fell with the blue squadron into the centre of the enemy's fleet, and thereby began that confusion, which ended soon after in a plain flight. * Most of our historians agree, that if this victory had been properly pursued, the Dutch fleet had been totally ruined; and the neglect of this advantage is, as I have elsewhere observed, † by some, without just grounds, charged on the duke of York. On the return of the English navy, his majesty, at the request of the queen-mother, declared the duke should not expose his person again on board the fleet; but that the command of it should be left to the earl of Sandwich; who was ordered to employ his utmost diligence to put it, as speedily as possible, in a condition to return to the Dutch coast; which he accordingly performed. ‡

The earl of Sandwich sailed on the 5th of July with sixty men of war to the coast of Holland, wearing the royal standard of England, and having under him several of the bravest seamen that perhaps ever bore the English flags. Finding the Dutch fleet not at sea, and having information that both their East India and Smyrna fleets were to return north about; he resolved to steer for the coast of Norway, in hopes of meeting with them: nor was this a difficult thing, since it was soon after known, that they had taken shelter in the port of Bergen. § We

* See p. 338.

† See p. 342, 345, where this affair is treated very copiously.

‡ Philips, Kennet, Echard. In the Earl of Clarendon's Speech, as Chancellor, to the Parliament, at Oxford, October 10, 1665, the keeping the duke at home is represented as a mark of the king's tenderness for his royal highness's person.

§ Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 541. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 277. Burchet's Naval History, p. 399. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv.

have already given some account of this action, but reserved a more particular detail of it for this place, to which it properly belongs; the rather, because the attempt on the Dutch fleet in the harbour of Bergen was the occasion of our war with Denmark, which some have ventured to charge on the earl of Sandwich, as brought about by his ill management; whereas, in truth, he did every thing that could be expected from an experienced officer, and a man of honour, as we shall shew in few words, because our naval historians are very unaccountably silent on this head.

Sir Gilbert Talbot was then envoy at the court of the king of Denmark; and he, finding a disposition in that prince to fill his coffers at the expense of the Dutch; proposed to him, as the most effectual way of doing it, seizing on their fleets in his harbour, which would indemnify him for all the losses he complained of, and bring into his treasury many millions of dollars. The king of Denmark readily embraced the project, and insisted only upon one objection, which was, his own want of force to execute it. Sir Gilbert immediately answered this by saying, that he did not doubt but the king of England would furnish him with a fleet sufficient to make prize of all the Dutch ships, on condition that the profit of the enterprize should be divided between them; to which his Danish majesty very readily assented.* This proposal, being transmitted to the English court, was as willingly closed with, and advice thereof sent to the earl of Sandwich. As this was a transaction very little to the king of Denmark's honour, so he insisted upon it, that the agreement should not be

* "A true and perfect Narrative of the late secret Negociation in Denmark, by Sir Gilbert Talbot, MS." This piece was in the hands both of Bishop Burnet and Mr. Echard, who have made use of it in their histories. I have likewise consulted another piece, published by authority, intitled, "A true Deduction of all the Transactions between his Majesty of Great Britain, and the King of Denmark;" which differs, in many respects, from Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation.

put into writing; and this nicety it was that spoiled the whole affair; for, when the earl of Sandwich had intelligence of De Ruyter's having retired with the East India fleet into Bergen, he resolved not to slip so fair an opportunity, but to sail thither with the utmost expedition. He sent, however, Mr. Worden, a gentleman of distinction, to Sir Gilbert Talbot, to inform him, that he was determined not to lose the opportunity of attacking the Dutch fleet; and therefore desired that he would send him a distinct account of the nature of the king of Denmark's engagements, that he might the better know what he was doing. Sir Gilbert took some pains to comply with this request; but by various unlucky accidents they were all frustrated, and the earl of Sandwich arrived in those seas, without hearing any thing from the envoy. *

Sir Thomas Tyddiman, being sent with a stout squadron to block up the port of Bergen, appeared before it on the 1st of August, 1665. The first thing he did was to send a gentleman to the governor, to inform him of the design, and to enquire what orders he had. To this the governor answered, that as yet he had none, but that he expected them by the post in two or three days; and therefore desired the English would desist from making any attempt for that time. The same evening, however, the castle fired upon the English fleet, and did some mischief; and the Dutch were suffered by the governor to bring seventy pieces of cannon on shore, to fortify their line. Admiral Tyddiman perceiving this, immediately called a council of war, wherein he laid the whole matter before his officers; who, after a full and free debate, resolved to lose no time, but to attack the Dutch fleet the next morning; and this for three reasons. 1. Because the Danish governor had not given them any direct answer, or promised them any sort of favour or assistance.

* Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation before cited.

2. If the Dutch had farther time given them to fortify themselves, an attempt might become impracticable. 3. That the grand Dutch fleet was now at sea, and might probably come into their relief, * before the Danish governor would acknowledge his receiving orders.

This resolution taken, Sir Thomas Tyddiman gave all his captains strict charge, that they should not fire against the castles or ports; and should also be very careful to direct all their shot low at the hulls of the Dutch ships, to prevent, as far as they could, any damage happening to the town that lay behind the ships; both which orders all the seamen did unanimously agree were performed, according as, in the several conferences with the governor, those directions were promised to be given. The dispute continued till near eight of the clock, during which time, it is true, the castle hung out a white flag, but to what intent the English could not guess; for the seamen, whose station was nearest to it, agreed also in this point, that the castle never left firing from some quarter or other. They were led to imagine from thence, that the Dutchmen, who might have been taken in for the strengthening the castle, had fired against the general's orders during the time of hanging out the white flag, as indeed it proved; for there were at least three hundred of them there.

The greatest mischief that the English received was from the artillery in the castle, which by accidental shots cut some hawsers that kept the first line together; and so, to avoid falling foul one on another, they were forced from their stations; and, when they were out of the reach of the Dutch guns, the fort upon the outmost point on the starboard side, played upon them afresh, the guns of which the English had once silenced during the engagement; but being remounted, they, in their going off, had many of their men killed by them; notwithstanding which, the

* Deduction of all Transactions between his Majesty of Great Britain, &c. p. 11.

English came that day to anchor within the rocks of Norway, five leagues distant from Bergen, having no pilots that could shew them anchoring hold nearer, for so many ships together.

While the English were repairing their ships, the Danish governor endeavoured to draw them into a new negotiation, affirming, that now he had received his master's orders, and was content to afford them what assistance he could. But, after mature deliberation, it was not thought proper to trust to these promises; * and therefore, on the last of August, the earl sailed with the rest of his fleet, towards the coast of Holland; but, suffering much by a storm, his ships were forced back again to the northward; and, on the 4th of September, he met with four Dutch East Indiamen, and several other of their merchant-ships, under a good convoy; and, though the stormy weather favoured their escape, yet he took eight men-of-war, two of their richest East India ships, and twenty sail of their merchantmen. On the 9th also, a part of our fleet fell in with eighteen sail of the enemy, the greatest part of which they took, with four men-of-war, and above a thousand prisoners. †

* True Deduction of the Transactions between his Majesty of Great Britain, &c. p. 11, 12. It must be allowed, that these facts are contradicted by the MS. account of Sir Gilbert Talbot, to which both Echard and Burnet have adhered, and, consequently, lay all the blame on Sir Thomas Tyddiman and the earl of Sandwich. But, besides the Deduction's being a public paper, owned by King Charles II. and consequently more authentic than Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation, there is in the former a copy of the governor's letter, which flatly contradicts the substance of the same letter given in Sir Gilbert's account, which I take to be, at bottom, rather an apology for his own conduct. The truth seems to be, that the earl of Sandwich considered this whole negotiation as a dishonourable thing; and indeed it is very apparent, that if no respect at all had been had to this agreement, but the English had attacked the enemy's fleet without giving them time to fortify themselves, the whole, or at least the greatest part, must have been either sunk or taken.

† See p. 348.

On his return, the earl was received by the king with distinguished marks of favour; but his royal highness's conduct in the great engagement on the 3d of June, being much censured, and the king declaring the duke of York should go no more to sea; as the earl's behaviour in the same action had been much applauded, lest his continuance in the sole command of the fleet might be interpreted to the disadvantage of the duke, and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary embassy to be sent into that kingdom, his majesty despatched the earl of Sandwich to the court of Madrid, to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal.* This negociation was a work of equal difficulty and importance; we had many things to ask from Spain in favour of trade, and there was nothing to which the Spaniards were less inclined than to make peace with Portugal; and, in order to that, to own it for an independent kingdom. The earl of Sandwich, however, managed his business with such address, that he concluded a most advantageous treaty for us with the court of Spain, consisting of forty articles; and this, too, in a surprising short period of time, if we consider the nature of Spanish negotiations; for his lordship arrived at Madrid, on the 28th of May, 1666, and the treaty was signed the 13th of May, 1667.†

His lordship applied himself next to the other part of his commission; and, by insisting principally upon the interests of Spain, and making it evident that the continuance of the Portugal war would be the total ruin of their affairs, and that a peace might be made without the least prejudice to their honour, at that juncture; he so far prevailed as to gain the queen of Spain's consent, that a treaty should be set on foot, under the mediation of the crown of Great Britain. The great and unusual confidence reposed in him upon this occasion, was managed with such

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 545, 566.

† See p. 381.

dexterity by the earl of Sandwich, that, in three weeks after his arrival at Lisbon, he concluded a peace between the two nations to their mutual satisfaction. This treaty was signed the 13th of February, 1668; * and as it was extremely advantageous to the Portuguese, who, considering the distracted state of their government, had very little reason to expect so fortunate an event, it was no less honourable, in the mediation, to the crown of Great Britain.

Upon the conclusion of these treaties, the earl of Sandwich was complimented both by the king and duke under their hands, and his great services acknowledged in such terms as they most certainly deserved; which letters do no less honour to the memory of the princes who wrote them, than his to whom they were written. Many of the despatches, penned by his lordship in this embassy, have been made public; and remain so many indelible marks of his wisdom, integrity, and public spirit. They serve also to shew how unnecessary a qualification cunning is in a public minister; for they are written with a plainness that cannot be counterfeited; and manifest, in their composition, a strength of genius capable of carrying its point, by setting truth in a strong as well as proper light, without the assistance of any of those little arts, which are so much and so undeservedly admired in modern politicians.

As he was too quick-sighted to be deceived, he had too much candour to impose on any one with whom he transacted; and, when his temper became thoroughly known, he was able to do all things in Spain; for, being well informed of the nobility of his birth, and his great actions at sea; and having themselves received repeated proofs of his strict regard to honour; they readily believed every thing he said, and willingly assented to whatever he proposed. After the conclusion of the treaty with Portugal,

* See p. 382.

he returned again to Madrid; where he spent some time in settling affairs, and confirming that court in the opinion, that Britain was its most useful and natural ally; and, then taking his leave, arrived September 19, 1668, at Portsmouth.* On his return to court, he was received with all imaginable testimonies of respect by the king and duke, who were equally solicitous in fixing him to a good opinion of those measures upon which they were then entering.

The intercourse with our colonies by this time was become very considerable; and, growing daily more and more advantageous to the nation, his majesty was graciously pleased to erect a council for inspecting matters relating to trade, and for the special encouragement of the plantations. As this was in itself a very popular act, so King Charles, who knew as well as any prince the art of pleasing his subjects, when he thought fit to practise it; judged it convenient to put at the head of this new council a man as acceptable in his character, as the project was in its nature; and this determined him to the choice of the earl of Sandwich, who, August 3, 1670, was sworn president of the council of plantations; and, in that quality, he swore the duke of York, Prince Rupert, the duke of Buckingham, and other persons of the highest quality, who were declared members thereof.† In this capacity, as well as in that of vice-admiral and privy-counsellor, he gave no small disturbance to the CABAL: for, in the first place, he was a sincere and zealous Protestant; next, he was a true Englishman, loyal to his prince, but steady in the cause of his country, an enemy alike to faction, and to every thing that looked like arbitrary power. He was, besides, for regarding no qualification but merit in the preferments of the navy; declaring upon all occasions against shewing favour to the relations of peers, or other persons

* Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. i. p. 226.

† See the Gazette of that date.

of distinction, to the prejudice of such as had served longer or better. This rendered him the darling of the fleet, who, after the death of the duke of Albemarle, looked upon him as their father and protector; which, however, gained him a great many enemies among such as could not bear the thwarting of their private interests, though for the sake of the public good. The secret histories of those times, to which I must own I do not always give credit, insinuate, that his royal highness the duke of York was displeased with him: but, however that might be, it is very certain, that the king had always a just sense of the earl of Sandwich's services, and shewed him upon every occasion, as much favour and esteem as he did to any of his subjects.*

On the breaking out of the third and last Dutch war, his lordship went to sea with the duke of York, and commanded the blue squadron, the French admiral, Count d'Estrees, commanding the white. The fleet was at sea in the beginning of the month of May; and toward the end of that month came to an anchor in Southwold bay, in order to take in water. We are told, that on the 27th, which was Whit-monday, there was great merry-making on board the fleet; and many officers and seamen were permitted to go on shore, and were at Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldborough. Things being in this situation, and the weather withal very hazy, the earl of Sandwich delivered it as his opinion, at a council holden in the evening, that, the wind standing as it did, the fleet rode in danger of being surprised by the Dutch, and therefore he thought it advisable to weigh anchor, and get out to sea: to this the duke of York, it is said, made such an answer as seemed to hint, that the earl spoke out of fear; which insinuation, if really made, was certainly both barbarous and unjust.† I

* Bishop Parker's History of his own Time, p. 151.

† See Echard's History, p. 883. Columna Rostrata, p. 217.

cannot say who it was that first reported this story; but of this we may be positive, that, as it is reported by a certain author, it could not possibly be true. * Several very judicious persons have inclined to think, that it was framed long after the transaction, in order to heighten some circumstances which we shall presently relate.

On the 28th of May, between two and three in the morning, the fleet was informed of the approach of the Dutch; upon which his royal highness made the signal for weighing anchor, and getting out to sea; and, the occasion being of so pressing a nature, many of the captains were obliged to cut their cables. The blue squadron, however, was out first, and in good order, the red next, and the

* This author is Bishop Burnet, who, in the History of his own Time, says, "I saw nothing of the sea-fight in Solbay, in which De Ruyter had the glory of surprising the English fleet, when they were thinking less of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant preparation for the usual disorders of the 29th of May; which he prevented, by engaging them on the 28th."—It is an odd whim of this prelate, that, because people might be disposed to be drunk on the 29th, they should be out of their wits on the 28th. Now the truth of the matter was, that the feasting happened on the 27th, because it was the Monday in Whitsun-week; but some people have a great mind to set a black mark upon the 29th of May, and on the character of General Monk for the same reason. Yet let us once more hear his lordship:—"The admiral of the blue squadron was burnt by a fire-ship, after a long engagement with a Dutch ship, much inferior to him in strength. In it the earl of Sandwich perished, with a great many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ship, by a piece of obstinate courage, to which he was provoked by an innocent reflection the duke made on an advice he had offered, of drawing near the shore, and avoiding an engagement; as if in that he took more care of himself than of the king's honour."—We have seen above, that the earl's advice was, to put to sea, that they might engage the sooner, and not be surprised. The Dutch Gazette treated the earl's memory better than this bishop: for in it we find, "The earl of Sandwich engaged for several hours with many of our men-of-war, disabled seven of our ships, among which was Lieutenant-admiral Van Ghent's, Vice-admiral Van Nesse's, and Captain Brakel's; and after putting off three fire-ships, was at last burnt by the fourth."

white, in its proper station, much a-stern.* The earl of Sandwich, in his fine ship the *Royal James*, which carried one hundred pieces of cannon and about eight hundred men, began the fight, and fell furiously on the squadron of Van Ghent: this he did, not from a principle of distinguishing himself by an act of heroic valour; for he knew his character was too well established to need that; his view was, to give the rest of the fleet time to form; and in this he carried his point. Captain Brakel, in the *Great Holland*, a sixty-gun ship, depending upon the assistance of his squadron, attacked the *Royal James*, but was soon disabled, as were several other men-of-war; and three fire-ships were sunk. By this time most of his men were killed, and the hull of the *Royal James* so pierced with shot, that it was impossible to carry her off.

In this distress he might have been relieved by his vice-admiral, Sir Joseph Jordan, if that gentleman had not been more solicitous about assisting the duke: when, therefore, he saw him sail by, heedless of the condition in which he lay, he said to those who were about him, "There is nothing left for us now, but to defend the ship to the last man;" and those who knew him readily understood, that, by the last man, he meant himself. When a fourth-fire-ship had grappled him, he begged his captain, Sir Richard Haddock, and all his servants, to get into the boat, and save themselves; which they did: yet some of the sailors would not quit the admiral, but staid, and endeavoured at his command to put out the fire, which, in spite of all their efforts, they could not do; and so they perished together, the ship blowing up about noon.† The Dutch writers give a different account of this matter: they say, that the earl, and one of his sons, were smothered

* I take this from Mr. Savile's Letter to the Earl of Arlington, then secretary-of-state, and published by authority.

† Gazette, May 30, 1672.

in the long-boat, by the crew jumping in upon them; * which cannot be true, since the genuine cause of the earl's remaining on board was, his apprehension that he might be taken in the long-boat, and made a spectacle to the Dutch; the same thought which occurred to the duke of Albemarle, and determined him, in case no other way was left, to blow up his ship and himself.

Such as ascribe this resolution to the resentment of what his royal highness had said the evening before, asperse one great man's character, in order to tarnish that of another. It is a strange pleasure that some malevolent people take, in attributing the noblest actions to the worst motives; and always presuming that to be the spring of a man's conduct, which seems least fitted to be so. In this case, from the temper of the person, and the circumstances attending his death, there is the highest reason in the world to presume, that he sacrificed himself from a principle of public spirit. Why, then, should we be so inhuman, as to fancy he did it from private pique? The ancient Romans would have had nobler notions: they would have said, he devoted himself for his country; and merited, by his manner of dying, the victory which ensued.

His lordship's body was found, near a fortnight afterwards; and the king testified, by the honours he paid to the corpse, how much he admired the man, how sensible of his hard fate, and how willing he was to mingle with the dust of his ancestors, the remains of such as died gloriously in their country's service. The fact stands thus in the Gazette :

Harwich, June 10.

“ This day the body of the right honourable Edward,
“ earl of Sandwich, being, by the order upon his coat, dis-
“ covered floating on the sea, by one of his majesty's
“ ketches was taken up, and brought into this port; where

† Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 208. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. p. 325.

“ Sir Charles Littleton, the governor, receiving it, took
 “ immediate care for its embalming, and honourable dis-
 “ posing, till his majesty’s pleasure should be known con-
 “ cerning it; for the obtaining of which, his majesty was
 “ attended at Whitehall, the next day, by the master of
 “ the said vessel, who, by Sir Charles Littleton’s order,
 “ was sent to present his majesty with the George found
 “ about the body of the said earl, which remained, at the
 “ time of its taking up, in every part unblemished, saving
 “ some impressions made by the fire upon his face and
 “ breast: upon which his majesty, out of his princely
 “ regard to the great deservings of the said earl, and his
 “ unexampled performances in this last act of his life, hath
 “ resolved to have his body brought up to London, there,
 “ at his charge, to receive the rites of funeral due to his
 “ great quality and merits. *

“ The earl of Sandwich’s body being taken out of one
 “ of his majesty’s yachts at Deptford on the 3d of July,
 “ 1672, and laid in the most solemn manner in a sumptuous
 “ barge, proceeded by water to Westminster-bridge, at-
 “ tended by the king’s barges, his royal highness the
 “ duke of York’s, as also with the several barges of the
 “ nobility, lord-mayor, and the several companies of the
 “ city of London, adorned suitable to the melancholy oc-
 “ casion, with trumpets and other music, that sounded the
 “ deepest notes. On passing by the Tower, the great
 “ guns there were discharged, as well as at Whitehall;
 “ and, about five o’clock in the evening, the body being
 “ taken out of the barge at Westminster-bridge, there was
 “ a procession to the abbey-church with the highest mag-
 “ nificence. Eight earls were assistant to his son Edward,
 “ earl of Sandwich, chief-mourner, and most of the nobi-
 “ lity and persons of quality in town gave their assistance
 “ to his interment in the duke of Albemarle’s vault, in the

* Gazette, June 13, 1672.

“ north side of King Henry VII.’s Chapel, where his
“ remains are deposited.” *

After this account of the respect shewn by his sovereign to his dead body, it may not be amiss to subjoin some instances of the tribute paid by illustrious persons to his memory. We will begin with the late duke of Buckinghamshire, who, having given us an account of the battle in Southwold-bay, concludes it thus : “ The enemy had
“ no success to boast, except the burning our Royal
“ James, which, having on board her not only a thou-
“ sand of our best men, but the earl of Sandwich him-
“ self, vice-admiral of England, was enough almost to
“ style it a victory on their side, since his merit as to sea
“ affairs was most extraordinary in all kinds.” † Bishop Parker, after a pompous detail of this bloody dispute, proceeds in these words : “ The English lost many volun-
“ teers, and ten captains of ships : amongst these were the
“ earl of Sandwich, and Digby, son of the earl of Bristol,
“ who almost alone fought with the third squadron of the
“ Dutch ; yet at length, when Digby was shot through
“ the heart, and the ship that he commanded was bored
“ through with innumerable shot, the seamen with diffi-
“ culty brought her into the harbour ; but Sandwich,
“ having miserably shattered seven of their ships, and
“ beat off three fire-ships, at length, being overpowered
“ with numbers, fell a sacrifice for his country ; a gen-
“ tleman adorned with all the virtues of Alcibiades, and
“ untainted by any of his vices ; of high birth, capable
“ of any business, full of wisdom, a great commander at
“ sea and land, and also learned and eloquent, affable,
“ liberal, and magnificent.” ‡ Gerard Brant, who is

* Gazette, July 4, 1672.

† Duke of Buckinghamshire’s Works, vol. ii. p. 15.

‡ Bishop Parker’s History of his own Time, p. 151.

never partial to any but his own countrymen, after a full account of the valour with which the earl defended himself, and which he styles unfortunate courage, is pleased to say; "Such was the fate of this noble peer, who was vice-admiral of England; a man equally brave, knowing, and of a most engaging behaviour; one who had rendered his sovereign the greatest services not only in the field, but in the cabinet, and as an ambassador in foreign courts." * Sir Edward Walker, who wrote an historical account of the knights of the garter, a work which it were to be wished his successors in his office had continued with like impartiality, gives the earl of Sandwich this character: "He was a person of extraordinary parts, courage, fidelity, and affability, and justly merited all the honours that were conferred upon him." †

These testimonies from friends and foes, for the duke of Buckinghamshire and the bishop of Oxford were of a party not much inclined to favour the earl of Sandwich, from strangers as well as his own countrymen, are incontestible proofs of this great man's abilities; and therefore I was in some doubt, whether I should add the following poetical compliment to his memory; but when I considered, that it might prove a hint to some abler poet to do justice to so sublime a subject, I thought the reader would not be displeased with the sight of a few lines, which had not hitherto been published.

EPITAPH.

Adorn'd with *titles*, but from *virtue* great,
 NEPTUNE at sea, and NESTOR in the state;
 Alike in council and in fight renown'd;
 Oft with success, with merit always crown'd:
 No heart more honest, and no head more wise,
 A SOLDIER, SEAMAN, STATESMAN, here he lies

* Vie De Ruyter, liv. xi.

† Historical account of the Knights of the Garter, MS. before cited.

Tho' brave, yet gentle ; tho' sincere, not rude ;
 Justice in camps, in courts he truth pursu'd.
 Living, he rais'd a deathless, spotless name ;
 And, dying, soar'd above the reach of fame.

Reader, if *English*, stop the falling tear !
 Grief shou'd not wait on him who felt no fear :
 He wants not pity—cou'd his ashes speak,
 These gen'rous sounds wou'd from the marble break :
 “ Go, serve thy country, while God spares thee breath ;
 “ Live as I liv'd, and so deserve my death.”

MEMOIRS OF PRINCE RUPERT.

WE ought next to say something of PRINCE RUPERT, who commanded the English fleet often, and with great applause. To run through his memorable adventures would take up too much time, and deviate likewise from the intention of this treatise : we shall therefore touch briefly upon those circumstances of his conduct, which more immediately relate to his capacity as a sea-officer, and leave his other actions to the care of some faithful historian, who may incline to transmit them to posterity in the manner they deserve. For though it cannot be denied, that this prince had his failings ; and that these might have had some bad effects on the affairs of King Charles I. ; yet, it must likewise be confessed, that he did that monarch great services ; and that his errors have been much heightened by the skill as well as partiality of some who have decried them.

He was the third son of the elector palatine, some time styled, king of Bohemia, by the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter to King James I. and was consequently nephew to King Charles I. His education, like that of most German princes, especially younger brothers, qualified him for arms ; and such as have been least inclined to

favour him admit, that he was extremely well fitted in respect both to natural abilities, and acquired accomplishments, for a great commander. * When the unhappy civil wars broke out here, he came and offered his sword, when scarce of age, to his uncle, and through the whole war behaved with great intrepidity; and, on many occasions, his endeavours were attended with very extraordinary success: † to reward which, as well as that posterity might have a just idea of the sense his majesty entertained of his great merit; that prince, having first elected him into the most noble order of the garter, did, by his letters-patent, bearing date at Oxford, the 19th of January, in the 19th year of his reign, make him a free denizen; and, on the 24th of the same month, advanced him to the dignity of a peer of England, by the title of earl of Holderness, and duke of Cumberland. ‡ When the war was over, he went abroad with a pass from the parliament; § but when the fleet revolted to the prince of Wales, he readily went on board it, where he distinguished himself by vigorous counsels; which, however, were not followed; but, on the return of the fleet to Holland, the command of it was left to him. He then sailed to Ireland, where he endeavoured to support the king's sinking cause; but was quickly pursued by the parliament's superiour fleet, under Popham and Blake; who, in the winter of the year 1649, blocked him up in the haven of Kinsale, whence he escaped, by boldly

* The fairest character I have met with of this gallant prince, is in Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 226, which is transcribed by Echard into his history. The reader may likewise consult Clarendon, Whitlocke, and the other historians of those times.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 674, the noble historian informs us, that his majesty reserved the command of general of horse for his nephew; having disposed of that of the foot to Sir Jacob Ashley, and that of the army to the earl of Lindsey.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 471.

§ See the third article of the treaty for the surrender of Oxford to Sir Thomas Fairfax, in Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 210, 213—215.

pushing through their fleet ; an action as successful in the event as brave in the intention. *

After this escape, he proceeded to the coast of Spain, where, at first, he was treated with some respect ; but when it was known that the parliament had a better fleet at sea, and were very intent on pursuing and crushing his highness, the Spaniards became afraid of shewing him any mark of favour : and therefore, when two or three of his ships were distressed, and ran ashore, they plundered them, and pressed the men into their service.† This we need the less wonder at, if we consider that Captain Young burnt the *Antelope*, one of the prince's ships, in the harbour of Helvoetsluys, without any respect to the authority of the States-General, even in their own ports ; ‡ and this, it is said, inclined them to war with England. For, observing the temper of the parliament, and the growth of their naval power, it was easy for the Dutch to foresee, that nothing but a vigorous resistance could defend their trade, or preserve them from subjection.

From the coast of Spain the prince sailed to Lisbon, and was quickly followed thither by Blake, with a squadron of eighteen sail. We have already given some account of this expedition, § and of his being at last forced by Blake

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 137. See also p. 184. Moderate Intelligencer, No. 221, says, the prince and his brother had been at Wexford, and other havens, with a view of obtaining sailors to man their ships, the better to enable them to beat off those belonging to the parliament, who blocked them up ; but that a strong south-west wind which then happened to be in that quarter, would, in all likelihood, save them the trouble.

† See p. 237.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 207. Heath's Chronicle, p. 254. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 410, 412, who says, that complaint being made to the States, by the king, of this base action, they ordered, that his majesty, if he pleased, should be at liberty to do the like to any of the vessels belonging to the parliament, in any of the harbours within their dominions.

§ See p. 274.

to leave that port, and betake himself again to the Mediterranean; and therefore here I shall only observe, that it was chiefly the high respect paid to Prince Rupert's person, that enabled him to keep the sea with his squadron, which was now become too small to be called a fleet. * On the 5th of November, 1650, Admiral Blake destroyed the Roebuck and the Black Prince, two of the best ships he had remaining, while his highness in the Reformation, and his brother, Prince Maurice, in the Convertine, or, as other writers say, in the Swallow, sailed into the Adriatic sea; and, after taking some prizes, returned, after Blake's departure, into the port of Toulon, where they disposed of them, paid their sailors, and provided for a more distant expedition. †

It must be observed, that though this kind of behaviour in Prince Rupert exasperated the parliament against him, and was, in reality, as I have elsewhere owned, a very unjustifiable practice; yet it was, on the other hand, the source of the parliament's power at sea, which they would otherwise have scarcely thought of maintaining; but finding themselves on a sudden on bad terms with Spain, embroiled with France, disliked by the Dutch, and at open war with Portugal; they were obliged to cultivate a naval force with their utmost care; in which, as they applied themselves to it with diligence, it must be admitted they were very successful, and had quickly so many squadrons well manned at sea, as made them terrible to all the world. ‡

* Ibid. See also Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 346. Brief Relation of Affairs, Civil and Military, No. xiv. p. 152. Miscellanea Aulica, p. 131, 147.

† Heath's Chronicle, p. 275. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 475, 476. Among other inconveniences flowing from this practice, the prince's example was no small one. When he condescended to live by privateering, no body was ashamed to take up the trade; so that from Brest, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Scilly islands, there issued whole fleets of corsairs.

‡ Let the reader compare what I have observed. with the facts

Prince Rupert's squadron, in the spring of the year 1651, sailed again for the Straits, consisting then of no more than five men of war, and two fire-ships. There he began to take Spanish ships, by way of reprisal, for the respect they shewed the parliament; till, finding himself hard pressed by Penn, he resolved, having indeed no resource besides, to follow his brother into the West Indies. This project was owing to the Lord Willoughby's engaging Barbadoes and the Leeward islands to declare for the king, when all other colonies, except Virginia, had submitted to the parliament. This design might possibly have proved more successful, if Prince Rupert, on his arrival in those parts, had applied himself to the preservation of the West India trade; but, instead of this, both he and Prince Maurice continued to cruize upon the Spaniards, till the latter perished at sea, and the former found his ships in such a shattered condition, that it was absolutely necessary for him to return into Europe; which accordingly he did, and, in the close of the year 1652, arrived safely in Brittany, where he disposed of his prizes, paid his seamen as far as it would go, and, for the present, laid aside his command as an admiral.* His conduct, on this occasion, is very harshly represented by the earl of Clarendon; who, as he never lived in any great terms of friendship with him, might possibly conceive worse of his proceedings than they deserved. This is certain, that the noble historian was greatly mistaken in what he says of the prince's deserting the king's service on his going back into Germany; for we have undeniable testimonies of the contrary, and several of his letters are yet extant, whereby it appears that he negotiated with several princes of the empire on

mentioned by Whitlocke, Ludlow, and Carrington, in his *Life of Cromwell*, and he will see the truth of it immediately.

* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 513—515, 520—522, 527. See also p. 238.

his majesty's behalf; and behaved toward him, on all occasions, in his exile, after the quarrel at Paris, with all the duty and deference that he could have shewn him on the throne. *

On the king's restoration, Prince Rupert was invited into England, where the king, who had an affection for him, gave him various offices worthy of his high birth. With a view of honouring the society of the Inner Temple, his royal highness the duke of York, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Dorset, and Sir William Morrice, one of the secretaries of state, were pleased to be admitted at that house, the duke of York being then called to the bar and bench; † and, on the 4th of November, in the same year, 1661, his highness Prince Rupert, Thomas earl of Cleveland, Jocelyn Lord Percy, John Lord Berkley of Stratton, and other persons of rank, condescended to honour the society in like manner. ‡ On the 28th of April, 1662, the prince, together with George duke of Buckingham, and John Lord Middleton, were sworn members of the privy council; § also, in the December following, when the statutes of the royal society were presented to the king, who was pleased to superscribe himself their founder and patron; his royal highness the duke and Prince Rupert, at the same time, declared themselves fellows. || By this time, his highness's fire was in some degree qualified, and his judgment became cooler, and fitter for the discharge of great employments; when therefore, in the year 1666, the king

* This is very evident, from abundance of letters in Thurloe's State Papers, which represent his highness as a busy agent for the king; and particularly from his letter to King Charles II. dated Heidelberg, February 6, 1656, vol. i. p. 694.

† Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. fol. p. 158.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

§ Mercurius Publicus, No. 17, p. 272. Annals of the Universe, p. 54.

|| Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 148.

intrusted him, in conjunction with the duke of Albemarle, to command the fleet, he discovered all the great qualities that could be desired in an admiral; for, by his happy return to the fleet, on the 3d of June, he ravished from the Dutch the only victory they had the appearance of gaining; and afterwards, on the 24th of June, beat them effectually; pursued them to their own coast; blocked up their harbours; and made them sensible of the superiority of English courage, when not oppressed by numbers.* In the autumn of the same year, having the sole command of our fleet, and understanding that the Dutch were endeavouring to join a French squadron of forty sail under the duke of Beaufort, he followed them closely into Boulogne road; upon which, to avoid another battle, they hauled in so near the shore, as in all probability they must either have been burnt or sunk, if a sudden storm had not forced the prince to return to St. Helen's bay. But, in the mean time, Sir Thomas Allen with his squadron fell in with part of the French fleet, and used them so roughly, that they were glad to betake themselves to port, and lay aside all thoughts of joining their allies.†

On his highness's return home he was kindly received by the king, and grew into great esteem with the nation. He always steered cautiously between the factions at court; and, having so near a relation to his majesty, his highness never thought of strengthening his interest by entering into intrigues: yet, on the other hand, he never declined any occasion that offered of shewing himself a firm Protestant, and a true patriot; though he knew that this conduct would expose him to the aspersions of some who were not much inclined to be his friends. But the king, who was obliged to govern too often by parties, was

* Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 355. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Echard, p. 831.

† See p. 366, 367.

far from disliking his cousin's conduct; since it gave him an opportunity of using his counsels, and engaging his services, with the general approbation of his people, which otherwise he could not have done. In other respects, the prince was very loyal; and would never be persuaded, even by such as had a great influence over him, to go into any of those measures, which, though covered with specious pretences, served in reality only to distress the king, and to distract his subjects.

After the breaking out of the last Dutch war, and the passing the test-act, his highness was drawn from his retirement to take upon him once more the command of the fleet. The duke of York had resigned his office of lord high-admiral; the earl of Sandwich and most of the old admirals were dead; so that none could, with any decency, be called to that important charge but himself. * He had never lived on any terms with the ministry who were styled the CABAL; and indeed it was impossible he should; for they were all persons of the utmost art, and he was one of the plainest men that could be. The method, therefore, they took to rid themselves of a war, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make such dispositions in the fleet as were fittest to render the admiral uneasy, from a prospect that this might bring the advice of making peace from other hands than their own. † All the captains in the fleet were the creatures of the duke of York, and were told, though perhaps without truth, that glancing at the prince's character would oblige his royal highness. There needed no more to set these folks to work: they began to find fault with every order he gave, and to misrepresent every measure he took; but the prince quickly convinced them, that,

* Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 591. Echard's History of England, p. 893. Burchet's Naval History, p. 403.

† See an exact relation of the engagements and actions of his majesty's fleet under Prince Rupert.

instead of hurting his character, they would by such conduct totally destroy their own. *

By his brisk getting out to sea in the month of April, he shewed, that he could be active in age as well as youth; and, by sailing over to the Dutch coast, he discovered a readiness to fight, which was the old characteristic of an English admiral. We have already given an account of the battle of the 28th of May, 1672, in which we had the advantage; but it may not be amiss to copy a short paragraph from the prince's own letter, which shews the modesty of his nature, and withal his strict honour, and noble impartiality, since it relates to the behaviour of one, who, he knew, did not like him: "Sir Edward Spragge also on his side maintained the fight with so much courage and resolution, that their whole body gave way to such a degree, that, had it not been for fear of the shoals, we had driven them into their harbours, and the king would have had a better account of them. The case being thus, and the night approaching, I judged it fit to stand a little off, and to anchor here where I now ride." †

The next engagement happened on the 5th of June, in which the advantage was more plainly on the side of the English, as is evident from Prince Rupert's letter, which was immediately published; but, after this engagement, he found the fleet to be so miserably destitute of all necessities, and, which was worse, so indifferently manned, that he thought fit to return home. This measure, though very necessary, might have been liable to some misconstruction from posterity, if by accident we were not furnished with a true key to it, which was this: The prince had often complained before, and the officers of the navy had constantly persuaded the king, that there

* Echard, Burnet, History of the Dutch War.

† This letter makes a single folio leaf, and is dated at one o'clock in the afternoon, on the 29th of May, 1673.

were no grounds for his complaints; which put his highness under the necessity of taking this step, that the thing might be put out of dispute, and the fleet out of wants. As this shewed his spirit, for he brought the king himself to look upon the ships; so he gave afterwards as strong a proof of his judgment, by carrying the whole fleet through the Narrow on the 19th of July; and appearing on the Dutch coast almost as soon as they had received certain intelligence of his returning to his own. *

On the 11th of August, he fought the last battle that was fought against this enemy, of which we have already given so full an account, † that, in respect of the fact, we can add nothing here: on his return from his command, the king expressed some coolness, which was owing not more to the arts of his highness's enemies, than to the quickness of his letter in relation to the last fight, and the behaviour of the French; ‡ but the king's displeasure

* The members of the office of ordnance vindicated themselves, notwithstanding the king's view; but whoever shall consider that vindication attentively, will perceive that it is extremely artificial, and calculated rather to screen themselves, than to clear up the truth of the fact.

† See p. 413.

‡ The reader may guess at the particulars of this letter, from the following paragraph of the exact relation, &c. in which they are summed up almost in his own words. "In the midst of so many
" intrigues of opposition here at home, so many delays of his commission, so few powers contained in it, such scanty number of
" seamen, so little assurance of divers chief commanders, such failure
" of provisions, such want of ammunition and all other necessaries,
" such deceit of navy officers, such non-observance of orders at sea
" amongst his own English, and so manifest defections of the
" French; not to be staggered in his resolution, nor to be put out of
" all patience and prudence in action, nor to abate of his affection
" and zeal for the honour and service of his majesty, the safe-guard
" and interest of religion and the kingdom; in a season when so
" many Popish protectors played a game under board, and above
" too; will be an everlasting argument of his highness's valour and

quickly wore out, as the interest of the CABAL began to decline. After this, the prince led a quiet, and, in a great measure, a retired life, mostly at Windsor-castle, of which he was governor; and spent a great part of his time in the prosecution of chemical and philosophical experiments, as well as the practice of mechanic arts, for which he was very famous. He is mentioned by foreign authors * with applause for his skill in painting; and celebrated by one † of the most judicious of our own for his invention of mezzo-tinto prints, since risen, from their softness and beauty, into so high esteem. He likewise delighted in making locks for fire arms; and was the inventor of a composition, called, from him, PRINCE'S METAL. He communicated to the royal society his improvements upon gun-powder, by refining the several ingredients, and making it more carefully; which, as appears upon several trials reported to that learned body, augmented its force, in comparison of ordinary powder, in the proportion of ten to one; an invention, which, though too expensive for common occasions, deserves to be remembered, because in particular cases it may be of singular utility. ‡ He also acquainted them with an

“renown, and must needs be a strong obligation upon the king, the parliament, and the people of England, who are now left to judge, whether it was not a wonderful good providence of God, or one of the most memorable pieces of service ever done at sea, to surmount all those difficulties, and even envy itself; and, after all, to bring home the fleet royal of England, without the loss of one man of war, to her own shore in safety, in despite of all enemies that designed otherwise by sea and land.”

* Cabinet des singularite d'Architecture, tom. i. p. 177.

† Sculptura, or the History and Art of Calcography in Copper; with an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works. To which is annexed, a new manner of engraving, or mezzo-tinto, communicated by his highness Prince Rupert to the author of this treatise, (i. e. J. Evelyn, Esq.) London, 1662, 8vo. chap. vi.

‡ Original Register of the Royal Society, vol. ii. p. 283. Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 258, where, by mistake, this powder is said to be twenty times as strong as the common; whereas the

engine he had contrived for raising water ; and sent them an instrument, of which he made use, to cast any platform into perspective, and for which they deputed a select committee of their members to return him their thanks. * He was the inventor of a gun for discharging several bullets with the utmost speed, facility, and safety, which was generally and justly admired. † The royal society received likewise from his highness, the intimation of a certain method of blowing up rocks in mines, and other subterraneous places. ‡ The very ingenious and indefatigable Dr. Hook has preserved another of his inventions for making hail-shot of all sizes. § He devised a particular kind of screw, by the means of which, observations taken by a quadrant at sea were secured from receiving any alteration by the unsteadiness of the observer's hand, or through the motion of the ship. || He had also, among other secrets, one that was very curious, and, if preserved, might be very beneficial ; which was that of melting or running black lead, like a metal, into a mould, and reducing it back again into its original form. ¶

As to his public character in the last ten years of his life, it was that of a patriot ; which was owing to the innate honesty of his temper, and not to his having any liking to intrigues. He gave indefatigable attention to

most exact proportion is, as 21 to 2. Grew's Catalogue of Rarities in Gresham College, p. 366, mentions an instrument for assaying and comparing the strength of powder, contrived and presented to the royal society by Prince Rupert.

* Dr. Birch's History of the Royal Society, vol. i. p. 285, 329.

† This account was given by Sir Robert Moray, who lived in great intimacy with his highness.

‡ Dr. Birch's History of the Royal Society, vol. i. p. 335.

§ Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 258. Micrographia, p. 22.

|| Dr. Birch's History of the Royal Society, vol. ii. p. 58.

¶ This was intimated to the society by Dr. afterwards Sir Christopher Wren ; who, exclusive of his excellent skill as an architect, was one of the most distinguished virtuosos of that age ; and, as such, in great esteem with the prince.

whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good. He was a great promoter of the trade to Africa; and a principal protector of the royal African company; as a proof of which, before the first Dutch war, in this reign, he offered his majesty to sail with a squadron to the coast of Guinea, in order to vindicate the honour of the crown, assert the just rights of the company, and redress the injuries done to the nation: but the king, unwilling to hazard his person at such a distance, and in so sickly a climate, though he received the motion kindly, would not consent to it; but contented himself with taking an officer of his recommendation, Captain Holmes, under whom the squadron was sent.* He was an active member of the council of trade. It was owing to his solicitations, after being at great expense not only in the inquiry into the value, but in sending ships thither, that the Hudson's bay company was erected, of which he was the first governor appointed by the charter.† In memory of him, a considerable opening on the east side of that bay, in Terra de Labrador, is called Rupert's River. In general, his highness was a great friend to seamen, and to all learned, ingenious, and public-spirited persons; and assisted them with his purse, as well as afforded them his countenance. He was concerned in the patent for nealed cannon, in a glass-house, and other undertakings for acquiring or improving manufactures, for which some have censured him as giving encouragement to projectors.‡ But surely, this censure is very ill placed; since, without such patrons, industry and ingenuity would want support; and many useful inventions, many valuable discoveries, barely emerge, and then sink again into oblivion. But strict justice has been done to his highness's many virtues, and

* Life of the Earl of Clarendon, p. 225. See also before, p. 327.

† See the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated, May 2, 1670, An. xxii. Car. ii.

‡ North's Examen, p. 52.

amiable qualities, by abler and more impartial judges,* especially in that excellent character of him by the elegant pen of Bishop Sprat.† In respect of his private life, he was so just, so beneficent, so courteous, that his memory remained dear to all who knew him. This I say of my own knowledge, having often heard old people in Berkshire speak in raptures of Prince Rupert.

He died at his house in Spring-gardens on the 29th of November, 1682, in his grand climacteric; leaving behind him a natural son, usually called Dudley Rupert, by a daughter of Henry Bard Viscount Bellemont, though styled in his father's last will and testament Dudley Bard. He received the first tincture of letters at Eton school, where the gentleness of his temper, and the modesty and amiableness of his behaviour, procured him universal esteem. His genius, however, inclining rather to arms than study, he was placed under the care of that celebrated mathematician Sir Jonas Moore at the Tower. Here he continued till the demise of the prince, when he made a tour into Germany to take possession of a considerable fortune which had been bequeathed to him. He was very kindly received by the Palatine family, to whom he had the honour of being so nearly allied. In 1686, he made a campaign in Hungary, and distinguished himself at the siege of Buda; where he had the misfortune to lose his life, in the month of July or August, in a desperate attempt made by some English gentlemen upon the fortifications of that city, in the twentieth year of his age, and, though so young, had signalized his courage in such an extraordinary manner, that his death was exceedingly regretted. The prince left also a natural daughter, the lady Ruperta, by Mrs. Margaret Hughes. This lady

* Evelyn on Medals, p. 161. Wren's Parentalia, p. 213. Sorbeire, Relation d'un Voyage fait en Angleterre, p. 24.

† History of the Royal Society, p. 259.

Ruperta afterwards married General Howe, and is since deceased. *

MEMOIRS OF SIR JOHN LAWSON, VICE-ADMIRAL
OF THE RED SQUADRON.

A MAN of real integrity, who acts always from the dictates of his reason, will be sure to raise a high character, and to be justly esteemed even by those who differ from him ever so widely in sentiments. There is an irresistible force in a solid understanding; that, when informed by the lights of experience supplies all defects in education; triumphs over error; and, atoning for all past mistakes, procures unlimited confidence, and the most sincere regard. Both these assertions will appear to be founded in truth, from the following particulars; which, though no pains have been spared, are all we have been able to collect in relation to Sir John Lawson. But, as even these are considerably more than were in the former editions, it is hoped they will give the judicious reader great satisfaction. For, since medals and monuments have been neglected; in regard to both of which our neighbours the Dutch, though a nation eminently frugal, were wisely munificent; † it becomes a necessary act of piety to preserve every thing relating to the actions of these great men; in order that posterity, reaping the fruits of their achievements, naval power, and extensive commerce, may at least know to whom they stand obliged, and how they were obtained.

As for this eminent commander, he was the son of a person in low circumstances at Hull, and bred to the

* Wood's *Fasti Oxoniensis*, vol. i. col. 268. Echard's *History of England*, p. 1023. *Historian's Guide*, p. 148.

† Evelyn on *Medals*, p. 73—75. Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 306, 315, 316. Gerard van Loon *Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas*, vol. ii. p. 360, 529. iii. p. 176.

sea, either on account of his taking a liking to it, or that it best suited with his father's situation; who, perhaps, knew not otherwise how to provide for him. In process of time he obtained a ship by his merit; and serving in the fleet under the parliament, was made a captain therein, for his extraordinary desert.* He served with great fidelity against all their enemies, so long as the parliament retained their power; and, toward the end of the war carried a flag, together with Penn, under Monk.

In 1653, he commanded a fleet of forty-four sail, which were sent over to the coast of Holland; and in this expedition, by taking a scarcely credible number of prizes, his acceptable service had a great influence in making the peace.† On the change of the government, and on Cromwell's assuming the supreme power to himself, he was continued in his command, and treated with very much respect; but, it seems, his principles did not incline him to act so steadily under the new government as he had done under the old.‡ As to church affairs he was an Anabaptist; and, in respect of civil government, he was known to be from principle a republican. In all probability he received these tinctures early; and, like many other well-meaning, though misled, people, thought pursuing his own prejudices to be persevering in a good cause. He was certainly very honest in his conduct during the civil war; acting altogether upon conscientious motives, which led him to dislike the protector's government, though not to resist it; for he thought, that a man might lawfully serve his country under any authority: and indeed this was Blake's notion, and for the honour of

* Lloyd's *Lives of Excellent Persons*, p. 647. Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 471, 563, 564.

† See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 466. Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 526, 591, 606. *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 159.

‡ This appears from several informations given against him from Thurloe, of which notice will be afterwards taken.

the men, and the benefit of this nation, that of most of the sea-officers of those times.

It is very certain, that the protector Oliver had early intelligence of Lawson's disaffection. Colonel Overton, who had plotted against Monk in Scotland, had, in some of his conferences with his friends, mentioned Vice-admiral Lawson as a person upon whom they might depend; yet, for all this, he was employed and entrusted to command a fleet for the channel service in 1655.* But the Spanish war had the same effect upon him that it had upon many officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant act of injustice and tyranny, and began from that moment to enter into schemes against the protector. True it is, that Cromwell had no just motive for attacking Spain; but the grand reason why the republicans resented this so warmly was, because the crown of Spain had made greater advances to the parliament, than any other foreign power.†

There were at the same time a very formidable body of men, who conspired also against Cromwell on the most enthusiastic principles, and were styled fifth-monarchy men. With these Lawson, Okey, Rich, and other officers thought fit to join; because they agreed with them in the main, and were for pulling down the present tyranny. Secretary Thurloe, however, had such early and such clear informations of their proceedings, that they were able to effect nothing: on the contrary, April 10, 1657, major-general Harrison, admiral Lawson, and se-

* This information to Monk is in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 185. Wherein President Bradshaw, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Colonel Pride, Colonel Cobbet, Colonel Ashfield, and other officers, are also named.

† The reader may find this matter largely and clearly explained in a treatise entitled, "The world mistaken in Cromwell," which is reprinted in the first volume of State Tracts in the reign of Charles II.

veral others, were committed; which put an end to their intrigues.*

When he recovered his liberty, he judged it proper to retire, and very probably did not imagine he should ever be employed again: but, upon the first news of the return of Admiral Montague, with his fleet from the Baltic, the parliament resolved to have it put into the hands of one in whom they could confide; and therefore sent for Mr. Lawson, declared him vice-admiral, gave him the command of a few frigates, and ordered him to take the charge of the whole fleet on its arrival.† In his privacy he had conversed with some intelligent cavaliers; and came to have a true notion of the folly of shifting from one form of government to another, and the great crime of subverting the constitution of one's country, to which an absolute obedience is due. As soon, therefore, as he heard of General Monk's march into England, he resolved to co-operate with him; and, knowing that nothing could be done but by the medium of a parliament, he got the fleet to declare roundly upon that head; for which he received their solemn thanks.‡

When Monk came to London, and many people doubted what course he would take, Admiral Lawson said to General Ludlow, "That, since the Levite and the priest had passed by without helping them, he hoped they

* Among Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 184, there is a very large discourse on this matter, which seems to have been a report made to the house of commons. This is wrong referred to in the index, where Vice-admiral Lawson is said to be one of the fifth-monarchy men; whereas, from that very paper, it appears, that he was one of a committee appointed by the discontented officers in the army, to confer with these fifth-monarchy men; among whom was Venner, who afterwards made a desperate attempt against King Charles II.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 690. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 666.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 704. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 693.

“ had now found a Samaritan who would.” * This Ludlow understood in his own sense; but it was certainly meant in another. The lieutenant-general himself understood this afterwards; for he tells us, that when Mr. William Prynne, out of his great loyalty to the house of Stuart, had given the clerk, without order of the house of commons, a clause for excepting out of the bill of indemnity such as had taken the oath for abjuring that family; in the council of state, he was severely reprimanded by Dr. Clarges, brother to General Monk, because he foresaw that this would affect Admiral Lawson, to whom the general was previously engaged. † Indeed, as to the vice-admiral, he came very early and very heartily into the restoration; so, that, when the earl of Sandwich acknowledged his services in this respect to the king in Holland, he was much caressed, received the honour of knighthood, and was always looked upon as a man sincerely attached to the crown; which was confirmed by all his succeeding actions. ‡

On the king's return, the fleet, as we have already shewn, claimed his early and his earnest attention. Henry VIII. erected the navy-board, which consisted originally only of the four great officers, *viz.* the treasurer of the navy, the comptroller, the surveyor, and the clerk of the acts; § but under succeeding reigns, as the business of the board was exceedingly increased, others were occasionally added, with the simple title of commissioners. This method was followed by the long parliament, and afterwards by the rump, who appointed twenty-one, of whom fourteen were out of their own body, and seven

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 821.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 24.

‡ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 768. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 238. Echard. Columna Rostrata, p. 146, and particularly Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, p. 415.

§ Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 321.

who were not members; and of these Vice-admiral Lawson 'was one.* This board being broken by their dissolution, King Charles contented himself with adding to the four standing officers of the navy, four commissioners at the recommendation, as the earl of Clarendon assures us, of the duke of York, which were the Lord Berkley, Sir John Lawson, Sir George Ayscue, and Sir William Penn, with each of them a pension of five hundred pounds a-year.† This gave them equal power with the old members, whenever they attended at the board, but assigned them no particular employments, or fixed in any degree their attendance; but left his majesty at full liberty to send them to sea as admirals, when, where, and as often as his affairs required.‡

Immediately after the restoration he was sent as vice-admiral to the earl of Sandwich, when he went to fetch Queen Catharine from Portugal; and was afterwards employed in the Mediterranean against the Algerines, to whom he did considerable damage, and so effectually blocked up their port, that they were not able to send any of their cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would have done, if he had not been disappointed in his expectation from De Ruyter, who, with his Dutch squadron, was sent on the same errand.§ These admirals differed about a salute which De Ruyter paid Lawson, and Lawson refused to return, as being bound up by his instructions. After this, there was no harmony between them: the Dutch admiral took the first opportunity of quitting this service, and slipping away to Guinea;

* *Mercurius Politicus*, Jan. 28, 1659, 60.

† *Clarendon's Life*, p. 241.

‡ At this time we had scarcely any board but this; and therefore this was considered as very convenient means of granting an admiral a comfortable subsistence, for employing his talents in the service of his country, when not at sea.

§ Philip's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 526, 528. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 273.

which was highly resented by King Charles, and alledged as one of the causes of the Dutch war.

That it may not be from hence supposed, Sir John Lawson's refusing to salute De Ruyter proceeded either from pride in him, or from any captious disposition in those who drew his instructions, it will be proper to set this matter in a true light. The Dutch, to prevent the ceremony, to which they were tied by treaty, of saluting English ships in their own seas, from passing for an acknowledgment of our sovereignty in those seas; affected to pay them that respect wherever they met with them, that so it might appear to be no more than a mere compliment to an ally, and not a mark of submission to a superiour. The court of England very well understood this; and therefore, at his departure from the earl of Sandwich's fleet, Sir John had general orders not to strike his flag to the ships of any prince or state whatever. Soon after this accident he received instructions to return home, and to leave the command of his squadron to captain, afterwards Sir Thomas Allen, who was appointed to finish the war he had begun against the Algerines. *

On his arrival in England he found the Dutch war broken out, and that the king had sent for him in order to serve under the duke of York, his brother, as rear-admiral of the red. Sir John was very grateful for this honour; but, at the same time, told his majesty, that he could shew him a more compendious way of bringing the Dutch to reason, than by fitting out great fleets. He observed, that in the last Dutch war they were infinitely more distressed by the captures he made after the last great battle, than they had been by all the operations of the war; and he added farther, that the reason of this

* Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 712. Philips's *Chronicle*, p. 528.

was not hard to find, *viz.* that they were able as a state to fit out great fleets in less time, and at much less expense, than it was now possible, or probably ever would be, for his majesty to do; and their subjects willingly contributed to this, because they saw the necessity, and were sensible of the good effects: but if very large numbers of their merchant ships were taken; if their commerce in general were rendered precarious, and many of their traders by these misfortunes became beggars, they had no remedy; and that therefore this was the tender part in which they might be hurt; and in which, if they were hurt, they must make a peace on such terms as his majesty should think fit to prescribe.

This advice was rejected at that time, because his royal highness was resolved to go to sea; and it was not thought consistent with his honour to stand on the defensive, and avoid fighting the Dutch fleet: but after Sir John Lawson was dead, and the expense of the war made it exceedingly burdensome to the king, he began to reflect on the counsel he had given him, and resolved to pursue it; but wanting proper directions in the execution of this scheme; and, to speak the truth plainly, having many dishonest servants, who pretended to have their ships well manned, when they had scarcely sailors enough to manage them; * for so the thing appeared on a parliamentary inquiry, this design, as we have seen elsewhere, miscarried; and yet this miscarriage remains a stain on the memory of Sir John Lawson, in the judgment of some writers. †

In all things relating to the fleet, after the war was declared, his royal highness the duke, likewise, consulted

* See the History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, printed for Chandler, vol. ii. p. 118; in which there is a resolution of the house of commons, that, notwithstanding his majesty had 18,000 men in pay in dispersed ships in 1667, there was not a sufficient number of ships left to secure the rivers Medway and Thames.

† See Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 367.

daily, says the noble historian, for his own information and instruction, with Sir John Lawson, Sir George Ayscue, and Sir William Penn; all men of great experience, and who had commanded in several battles. Upon the advice of these men, the duke always made his estimates and all propositions to the king. There was somewhat of rivalry between the two last, because they had been in equal command; therefore, the duke took Sir William Penn into his own ship, and made him captain of it, which was a great trust, and a very honourable command, that exempted him from receiving any orders but from the duke; and so extinguished the emulation of the others; the other two being flag-officers, and to command several squadrons. Lawson, however, was the man for whose judgment the duke had the highest esteem; and he was in truth for a man of that breeding, for he was a perfect tarpawlin, a very extraordinary person. He understood his profession incomparably well; spoke clearly and pertinently; but not pertinaciously enough, when he was contradicted. Ayscue was a gentleman, but had kept ill company too long, which had blunted his understanding, if it had been ever sharp. He was of few words, yet spoke to the purpose, and to be easily understood. Penn, who had much the worst understanding, had a great mind to appear better bred, and to speak like a gentleman. He had gotten many good words, which he used at adventure; he was a formal man, and spoke very leisurely, but much; and left the matter more intricate and perplexed than he found it. These are the judicious Clarendon's characters of these three great seamen, with whom he was personally and intimately acquainted; and therefore his own words are retained.

On the 21st of April, 1665, the duke of York sailed with a grand fleet to the coast of Holland, himself carrying the red flag, Prince Rupert the white, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Towards the latter end of the engage-

ment, which happened off Lowestoffe on the memorable 3d of June, that day twelve years in which they had been beaten by Monk; Lawson, after he had exceeded all that he had done before, was by a musket-shot in his knee disabled from enjoying that victory which he had laboured so hard to gain. He did not, however, die till some days after, *viz.* June 29, 1665, when he had the satisfaction of knowing that his country triumphed, and that, as he had lived, so he died with glory.

We shall here subjoin the earl of Clarendon's account of this extraordinary person in his life lately published, and that in his lordship's own words: "There was," says he, "another almost irreparable loss this day in Sir John Lawson, who was admiral of a squadron, and of so eminent skill and conduct in all maritime occasions, that his counsel was most considered in all debates, and the greatest seamen were ready to receive advice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a shot with a musket-bullet upon the knee, with which he fell; and finding that he could no more stand, and was in great torment, he sent to the duke to desire him to send another man to command his ship, which he presently did. The wound was not conceived to be mortal, and they made haste to send him on shore as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where for some days there was hope of his recovery; but shortly, his wound gangrened, and so he died with very great courage, and profession of an entire duty and fidelity to the king.

"He was indeed, of all the men of that time, and of that extraction and education, incomparably the modestest and wisest man, and most worthy to be confided in. He was of Yorkshire, near Scarborough, of that rank of people who are bred to the sea from their cradle; and a young man of that profession he was when the parliament first possessed themselves of the

“ royal navy : and Hull being in their hands, all the
“ northern seamen easily betook themselves to their
“ service : and his industry and sobriety made him quickly
“ taken notice of, and to be preferred from one degree
“ to another, till, from a common sailor, he was promoted
“ to be a captain of a small vessel, and from thence to
“ the command of the best ships.

“ He had been in all the actions performed by Blake,
“ some of which were very stupendous, and in all the
“ battles which Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in
“ which he was a signal officer, and very much valued by
“ him. He was of that class of religion which were called
“ Independents, most of which were Anabaptists, who
“ were generally believed to have most aversion to the
“ king, and therefore employed in most affairs of trust.
“ He was commander in chief of the fleet when Richard
“ was thrown out ; and, when the contest grew between
“ the rump and Lambert, he brought the whole fleet into
“ the river, and declared for that which was called the
“ parliament ; which broke the neck of all other designs,
“ though he intended only the better settlement of the
“ commonwealth.

“ Nor, after the restoration, did any man perform his
“ duty better. He caused all persons, however well
“ qualified soever, who he knew were affected to a re-
“ public, to be dismissed from the service, and brought
“ very good order into his own ship, and frequented the
“ church-prayers himself, and made all the seamen do
“ so. He was very remarkable in his affection and coun-
“ tenance towards all those who had faithfully served the
“ king, and never commended any body to the duke to
“ be preferred but such, and performed to his death
“ all that could be expected from a brave and an honest
“ man.

“ It looked like some presage that he had of his own
“ death, that, before he went to sea, he came to the trea-

“ surer and the chancellor, to whom he had always borne
“ much respect, and spoke to them in a dialect he had
“ never before used; for he was a very generous man,
“ and lived in his house decently and plentifully, and had
“ never made any the least suit or pretence for money.
“ Now he told them, that he was going upon an expedi-
“ tion in which many honest men must lose their lives;
“ and though he had no apprehension of himself, but that
“ God would protect him, as he had often done in the
“ same occasions, yet he thought it became him, against
“ the worst, to make his condition known to them, and
“ the rather, because he knew he was esteemed generally
“ to be rich. He said, in truth he thought himself so
“ some few months since, when he was worth eight or
“ nine thousand pounds; but the marriage of his daughter
“ to a young gentleman in quality and fortune much
“ above him, Mr. Richard Norton of Southwick in Hamp-
“ shire, who had fallen in love with her, and his father, out
“ of tenderness to his son, had consented, it had obliged
“ him to give her such a portion as might in some degree
“ make her worthy of so great a fortune; and that he had
“ not reserved so much to himself and wife, and all his
“ other children, which were four or five, as he had
“ given to that daughter; he desired them therefore,
“ that, if he should miscarry in this enterprize, the king
“ would give his wife two hundred pounds a-year for
“ her life; if he lived, he desired nothing; he hoped he
“ should make some provision for them by his own
“ industry; nor did he desire any other grant or security
“ for this two hundred pounds yearly than the king’s
“ word and promise, and that they would see it effectual.
“ The suit was so modest, and the ground of making it
“ so just and reasonable, that they willingly informed his
“ majesty of it, who as graciously granted it, and spoke
“ himself to him of it with very obliging circumstances;
“ so that the poor man went very contentedly to his

“ work, and perished as gallantly in it, with an universal
 “ lamentation. And it is to be presumed, that the promise
 “ was as well performed to his wife. Sure it is, it was
 “ exactly complied with whilst either of those two persons
 “ had any power.”

It is worth observing, that all the writers of those times, though they differ widely in respect to many characters, concur in commending Sir John Lawson as a brave, honest, loyal commander, and as a very able and intelligent seaman; and, as such, deserves to be honourably remembered. *

MEMOIRS OF SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE.

SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE was descended from a good family in Devonshire, and was born in the parish of Widscombe in that county, in the year 1620. His father, being a royalist and in low circumstances, was of an opportunity of binding him apprentice to the captain of a trading vessel belonging to Topsham, with whom he lived very happily for some years; and, being a young man of good natural abilities, he attained an extraordinary degree of knowledge in his profession; by which, and by the favour of his master, he grew into great credit with the most eminent traders in Exeter; in whose service he made various voyages into the Mediterranean, with large profit to them, and no small reputation to himself. † In the beginning of our wars with Spain, he distinguished himself by a very extraordinary action. He was attacked by a large Spanish man of war, com-

* Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 415. Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 538. Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 276. Echard's History of England, p. 827.

† Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 437.

manded by a knight of Malta; and, though the odds were very great, yet Captain Kempthorne defended himself gallantly, till all his ammunition was spent; and then, remembering that he had several large bags of pieces of eight on board, he thought they might better serve to annoy than enrich the enemy; and, therefore, ordered his men to load their guns with silver, which did such execution on the Spaniards' rigging, that, if his own ship had not been disabled by an unlucky shot, he had in all probability got clear. At last, however, overpowered by numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into Malaga.

The knight, to whom he was prisoner, treated him with the utmost kindness and civility; carried him home to his house; gave him the free use of it; spoke of him with much respect; commended his valour to every body; and declared, that he never knew a man who deserved higher preferment; and, after a short stay in this manner, which I can scarcely call a confinement, he sent him to England. It is a great misfortune, that one is obliged to relate such a passage as this, without the proper circumstances of names and dates; but, when these have been slighted by such as first committed the fact to writing, they are not afterwards easily recovered. However, there can be no doubt made as to the truth of the relation; since, upon the credit of this action, Captain Kempthorne laid the foundation of his subsequent fortunes. Having premised this, we may proceed to the second part of this adventure. Some years after, the same knight of Malta was taken in the Streights by Commodore Ven, and brought prisoner into England, where he was committed to the Tower: this afforded the captain an opportunity of returning all the civilities he had received, and of procuring his liberty, which he did at his own expense, and furnished him with every thing necessary to return to Spain; an action

generous and grateful in itself, and which could not fail of doing our English commander great honour. *

After the restoration, Captain Kempthorne had some merit to plead; his father having quitted the profession of the law, to serve as a lieutenant of horse in the king's army, which honest and loyal act proved his total ruin. Whether this or any personal interest which his son might have, brought him into the navy, it is not easy to say; but, soon after the king's return, he was provided with a ship, *viz.* the *Mary Rose*, a third rate, carrying forty-eight guns, and two hundred and thirty men. In this ship he went as convoy to a considerable fleet of merchantmen into the Streights; and in the month of December, 1669, met with a squadron of seven Algerine men-of-war: by his prudence and courage he preserved, however, all the vessels under his care; and obliged the enemy to sheer off, after leaving behind them several of their men, who had boarded the *Mary Rose*, and were brought by Captain Kempthorne into England. †

This gallant action justly merited him to a flag; and yet it was some years afterwards outdone, with great satisfaction to the captain: for his son, a young gentleman of three and twenty, in the *King's Fisher*, a frigate of forty-six guns and two hundred and twenty men, engaged seven Algerines, three of which carried as many guns as the whole squadron that his father had to deal with; and after many hours fight, in which he was several times boarded, made them weary of their undertaking, and carried the king's ship safe into a Spanish port, where he himself died of his wounds. ‡

As for our hero, he was in both the Dutch wars, and behaved so well, that, upon the duke of Albemarle's taking the command of the fleet in 1666, he carried one of the

* Remarkable Sea Deliverances, p. 52.

† See the particular relation of this engagement cited before, p. 383.

‡ Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 438.

flags; and, in the succeeding war, he served as rear-admiral, and had the honour of knighthood. * He spent the latter part of his life in a post both of profit and reputation, *viz.* commissioner of his majesty's navy at Portsmouth; and yet it is said, that he was disgusted, as is frequently the case, at his being thus laid aside, and precluded, as he understood it, from any farther promotion which his merit might have entitled him to in the navy. We have no account of the motives which might induce the court to slight a man of Sir John Kempthorne's merit; only we are told, that he was a very zealous Protestant, and, having been chiefly raised by the favour of Prince Rupert, it is probable his interest declined with that of his highness. However it was, it has been transmitted to posterity, that his sharp sense of his disappointments shortened his days; and thus a man, who had with such courage ventured his life for the honour of the crown, and had done such signal service to the nation; was sacrificed to some low, secret, pitiful court-intrigue; and left to wear away his life in a little employment, which would have been esteemed a high promotion by a person of a money-loving temper, and who had less passion for glory than this worthy gentleman, who ended his days on the 19th of October, 1679, when he wanted but one year of threescore. His body lies interred on the north side of the altar in the great church at Portsmouth; and I have heard, that some of his posterity are yet remaining in Devonshire. † This Sir John Kempthorne had an elder brother, Captain Simon Kempthorne, who also distinguished himself at sea, but of whose actions I can say nothing particular; I shall therefore content myself with having thus endeavoured to preserve his NAME.

The care taken by the Dutch, as I have more than once hinted before, to preserve the memories of those who have

* Philip's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 551. Burchet's Naval History, p. 399. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 282.

† Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 439.

eminently served the state, by burying them at the public expense; erecting for them magnificent tombs; adorning these with honourable inscriptions; settling pensions on their families; and by such acts of gratitude, obliging all historians, as well as putting it into their power, to relate whatever concerns such persons carefully and distinctly, can never be enough commended. It is indeed one of the greatest instances of the wisdom of their government; since it supports and encourages public spirit; maintains the power, and secures the reputation of the republic; which are things of the highest consequence to society, and the source of that liberty and happiness by which they are so gloriously distinguished from their neighbours. Happy had it been for us, if a like spirit had prevailed here! I should not then have been obliged to apologize so often for omissions, which I find it impossible to supply; nor would there have been occasion for this remark, to excuse the shortness of those accounts, which I am yet to give, of some of the greatest seamen who lived in this reign; and who, by their gallant behaviour, justly merit the praise of succeeding times.

MEMOIRS OF SIR GEORGE AYSCOUGH, OR, AS
GENERALLY WRITTEN AYSCUE, ADMIRAL OF THE
WHITE.

AN intrepidity, which no danger can either dismay or distract, is that kind of temper which distinguishes our sea commanders; and has exalted the Howards, Greenvilles, Blakes, and several others that might be named, into the rank of heroes. It is a disposition that peculiarly endears an officer to seamen, who never fail to imitate his example; and from a resolution of this kind, such amazing and almost incredible events have flowed, as shew that high courage, when accompanied with cool and steady

conduct, in which intrepidity consists; is very different from either rashness or obstinacy; and may be justly considered as the standard of military virtue, and therefore the best entitled to fame. This rare and admirable quality, if the evidence of friends or foes can establish the possession of it incontestibly, was never more conspicuous than in Sir GEORGE AYSKUE, whose merit was so great, and so generally understood, that he was preferred without envy; nay, his preferments were attended with such universal applause, as at length, which often happens in popular states, rendered him obnoxious to his masters. This did not hinder his appearing again in a higher station with equal reputation; and, having often vanquished enemies, he, in the last action of his life, triumphed over fortune.

He was a gentleman of an ancient and worthy family, settled at South Kelsey, in Lincolnshire. * His father, William Ayscough, or Ayscue, Esq. was one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber to Charles I. † by whom himself, and his elder brother Sir Edward Ayscue, were knighted. By intermarriages he stood allied to some as respectable families as any in the north; particularly the Savilles of Thornton, the Cookes of Wheatly, in Yorkshire, ‡ the Williamsons of Markham, in Nottinghamshire, § and many others. At the breaking out of the civil war, Sir Edward and Sir George Ayscue both adhered to the parliament; || by whom the former was appointed one of their commissioners to reside with the Scots army in 1646, ¶ and the latter was continued in his command in

* Camd. Britannia, p. 408, where the name is written Ashcough.

† Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, vol. iii. p. 121, 122.

‡ Baronetage of England, vol. i. p. 159. iii. p. 279.

§ Thoroton's Antiquities of Nottinghamshire, p. 386.

|| Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 706.

¶ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 184. Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1645.

the navy, and always treated with the utmost deference and respect; which made such an impression upon him, that he remained attached to them with inviolable fidelity, though he had not been promoted in their service, or, except those testimonies of esteem, had received any marks of their favour.

When a great part of the fleet revolted in the summer of 1648, and set Colonel Rainsborough on shore, who was sent to take the command; Sir George Ayscue preserved his ship the *Lion*, for the parliament, and brought her into the river Thames, of which he gave them notice. * This important service at so critical a conjuncture, was received with great satisfaction; and he was desired, with Captain Moulton, to sail over to the coast of Holland, to watch the motions of the ships then under the prince of Wales. † The next year he was declared admiral in the Irish seas, and directed to relieve Dublin, which was a thing of the utmost consequence. This he very successfully performed, as also many other services; which induced them to continue him in that office for another year, in which term he did all, and even more than they expected; for which they honoured him with their thanks, and assured him they would retain a suitable sense of what he had done in support of the English and Protestant interest in that kingdom. ‡

The war, at least as far as it was a sea war, being brought to a conclusion in Ireland, the parliament found themselves at liberty to make use of their fleet elsewhere; and thereupon resolved to reduce the island of Barbadoes, which was held for King Charles, by the Lord Willoughby, of Parham, who had served them long; but when he saw they meant to subvert the constitution, he quitted them,

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 317.

† Baker's Chronicle, continued by E. Philips, p. 740. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 368. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.

‡ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 385, 406.

and went to King Charles II. in Holland, by whom he was declared vice-admiral of the revolted fleet, and afterwards governor of the Leeward Islands. * In order to accomplish this, orders were sent to Sir George Ayscue to form a squadron, which he was to man and victual as soon as possible, and then proceed to Barbadoes; but, before he was in any readiness to sail, those orders were countermanded. The reason of this was, the parliament had information that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the isles of Scilly put into their hands; and therefore it was thought necessary to reduce those islands first. Blake and Ayscue were employed in this expedition in the spring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and success. They had but a small body of troops on board; and Sir John Greenville had a considerable force in the island of St. Mary, commanded by some of the best officers in the late king's army; so that, if things had been decided by the sword, the dispute must have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John easily perceived that this must end fatally in respect to him, and the remains of the king's forces under his command; and therefore entered into a treaty with General Blake and Admiral Ayscue, who used him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions; after which Blake returned to England, and Ayscue prepared for his voyage to Barbadoes. †

The parliament, when they first heard of the reduction of Scilly, were extremely well pleased, as indeed they had very just reason; since privateers from thence did so much mischief, that scarcely any trade could be carried on with tolerable security; but, when the conditions were known, some great men changed their opinions, and gave

* The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, chap. xxvii. p. 325—327.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 465. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 493, 495. See also p. 240.

Blake to understand, that he and his colleague had been too forward; so that it was doubtful, whether the parliament would ratify this agreement. Blake said, that if they had given Sir John Greenville good conditions, they had not done it without good reason; that, in the first place, it saved the effusion of English blood; and next, that there was a strong squadron of Dutch ships at no great distance, the commander of which had offered Sir John one hundred thousand pounds to put these islands into his hands; that, if the parliament did not approve of his conduct, he should be sorry for it, and would take care to prevent a mistake of that sort for the future, by laying down his commission, as he was confident Sir George Ayscue would likewise do. * Upon this, there was no more said of the articles, which were very punctually and honourably complied with, and Sir George received orders to sail immediately to the West Indies; which he obeyed.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the 16th of October, 1651, and became quickly sensible of the difficulty of that enterprize. His own force was very inconsiderable in comparison with that of the island; the governor was a man of quality, good sense, and well beloved, and had assembled a body of nearly five thousand men to oppose him. † In spite of all these difficulties, he was determined to do his utmost to reduce the place; and how well he succeeded, the reader may learn from the following succinct relation of General Ludlow.

“ Sir George opened a passage into the harbour, by
“ firing some great shot, and then seized upon twelve of
“ their ships without opposition; the next day he sent a
“ summons to the Lord Willoughby, to submit to the
“ authority of the parliament of England; but he, not
“ acknowledging any such power, declared his resolution
“ to keep the island for the king’s service. But the news

* Lansdown’s Prose Works, vol. ii. p. 257.

† See p. 240.

“ of the defeat of the Scots and their king at Worcester,
“ being brought to Sir George Ayscue, together with an
“ intercepted letter from the Lady Willoughby, containing
“ the same account, he summoned him a second time, and
“ accompanied his summons with the lady’s letter, to
“ assure him of the truth of that report: But the Lord
“ Willoughby relying upon his numbers, and the fewness
“ of those that were sent to reduce him, being in all but
“ fifteen sail, returned an answer of the like substance
“ with the former. Whereupon Sir George Ayscue sent
“ two hundred men on shore, commanded by Captain
“ Morrice, to attack a quarter of the enemy’s that lay by
“ the harbour, which they executed successfully, by taking
“ the fort and about forty prisoners, with four pieces of
“ cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board
“ again.

“ At this time, the Virginia fleet arriving at Barbadoes,
“ it was thought fit to send a third summons to the Lord
“ Willoughby; but finding that neither this, nor the de-
“ claration sent to them by the commissioners of parlia-
“ ment to the same purpose, produced any effect, Sir
“ George Ayscue landed seven hundred men from his own
“ and the Virginia fleet, giving the command of them to
“ the same Captain Morrice, who fell upon thirteen hun-
“ dred of the enemy’s foot, and three troops of their horse,
“ and beat them from their works, killing many of their
“ men, and taking about one hundred prisoners, with all
“ their guns. The loss on our side was inconsiderable,
“ few of ours being killed upon the place, and not above
“ thirty wounded. Yet these successes were not sufficient
“ to accomplish the work, there being above five thousand
“ horse and foot in the island, and our Virginia fleet pre-
“ paring to depart for want of provisions.

“ In this conjuncture, Colonel Muddiford, who com-
“ manded a regiment in the island, by the means of a

“ friend that he had in our fleet, made his terms, and
“ declared for the parliament. Many of his friends, fol-
“ lowing his example, did the like, and, in conjunction
“ with him, encamped under the protection of our fleet.
“ Upon this the most part of the island were inclined to
“ join us; but the Lord Willoughby prevented them, by
“ placing guards on all the avenues to our camp, and
“ designed to charge our men with his body of horse,
“ wherein he was much superiour to them, had not a
“ cannon-ball, that was fired at random, beat open the
“ door of a room where he and his council of war were
“ sitting, which, taking off the head of the centinel who
“ was placed at the door, so alarmed them all, that he
“ changed his design, and retreated to a place two miles
“ distant from the harbour. Our party, consisting of two
“ thousand foot and one hundred horse, advancing towards
“ him, he desired to treat; which being accepted, Colonel
“ Muddiford, Colonel Collyton, Mr. Searl, and Captain
“ Pack, were appointed commissioners by Sir George
“ Ayscue; and by the Lord Willoughby, Sir Richard
“ Pierce, Mr. Charles Pym, Colonel Ellis, and Major
“ Byam.

“ By these it was concluded, that the islands of Nevis,
“ Antigua, and St. Christopher’s, should be surrendered
“ to the parliament of England; that the Lord Wil-
“ loughby, Colonel Walrond, and some others, should be
“ restored to their estates; and that the inhabitants of the
“ said isles should be maintained in the quiet enjoyment
“ of what they possessed, on condition to do nothing to
“ the prejudice of the commonwealth. This news being
“ brought to Virginia, they submitted also, where one
“ Mr. George Ludlow, a relation of mine, served the par-
“ liament in the like manner as Colonel Muddiford had
“ done at Barbadoes.” *

* Ludlow’s Memoirs, vol. i. p. 385—387.

Sir George Ayscue returned to Plymouth, on the 25th of May, 1652, with great reputation. * The Dutch war, which broke out while he was abroad, was now very warm ; and Sir George was forced to take a share therein, though his ships were, with so long a voyage, extremely foul, and in a manner unfit for service ; yet, when General Blake sailed to the north, he performed glorious, indeed almost incredible things ; for, in July, he took five Dutch merchantmen, and afterwards attacked a fleet of forty sail, under the convoy of four men of war, took seven, burnt three, and forced the rest on the French shore. On the 16th of August, 1652, the Dutch attempted to surprise Sir George with a great fleet, who was just then returned from convoying a rich fleet of East India ships into Plymouth. Though he was much inferior in strength, he fought notwithstanding ; and at last, with considerable loss, forced them to retire. † After this, he continued to behave vigorously against the enemy ; and though his services were not very well received by the parliament ; yet both the seamen and the people agreed that he had acted like a hero. Of this we have a strong testimony in Lilly's almanack, which was a kind of oracle in those days. ‡

* In Lilly's *Astrological Predictions* for 1653, we have this account of what passed in the preceding year : " May 25, Sir George Ayscue, Knight, returned safe from the Western Islands to Plymouth, to the great joy of the people, having reduced all the Western Isles, and taken from the Dutch above forty sail of ships." Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 534. Davies's *Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 329.

† Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 539—541.

‡ This passage occurs in his observations on August, 1653, and runs thus : " August 16, 1652, Sir George Ayscue, near Plymouth, with fourteen or fifteen ships only, fought threescore sail of Dutch men-of-war, and thirty shot in the hull of his own ship. Twenty merchant (I suppose merchantmen converted into) men-of-war, never came in to assist him ; yet he made the Dutch give way. Why our state shall pay those ships which fought not, we of the people know not. This is he that is a gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part of a generous commander in all his actions."

In some short time after this, the parliament thought fit to consider Sir George's former services, and to vote him, as a reward, three hundred pounds a year in Ireland, and also three hundred pounds in money; but they thought proper, at the same time, to lay him aside, under pretence that the honour of the nation was some way affected by the loss he had suffered in the late fight in Dover road; but this was a mere pretence; for not only our own historians, but the Dutch writers also, agree, that never any man behaved better than he did upon that occasion; and so far was the honour of the nation from being at all injured by any loss he sustained; that this very action was then, and still is, considered as one of the strongest proofs of the invincible courage of the English at sea. * Nay, immediately before he was dismissed from his command, he gave a most extraordinary proof of his courage; for he protested against Blake's retreat, after he had been worsted in the battle of the 29th of November; and declared, he thought it more honourable to perish at sea, than to retire in the sight of an enemy; and upon this occasion he intimated a design of throwing up, which gave his enemies so fair an opportunity of taking away his commission. †

The true grounds of the parliament's displeasure toward him, though they did not care to own it, was the fair agreement he had made with the Lord Willoughby at Barbadoes; and the largeness of those articles of capitulation which he had granted him. They thought he might have been sufficiently cautioned by the resentment they had shewn on the treaty he made with Sir John Greenville; and were therefore the more deeply touched with this, which they looked upon as a second offence. ‡ Another reason for their inclining to lay him down softly was his

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 421. Columna Rostrata, p. 101. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 260. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 322, 324. La Vie De Ruyter, vol. i. p. 19, 20.

† Columna Rostrata, p. 101.

‡ Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

great influence over the seamen, by whom he was exceedingly beloved. In this transaction they were too wise for themselves; for they parted with a man who was certainly firm to their interests; disobliged the sea-officers, who knew not what to think of such a proceeding; and lost the affection of the sailors, as appeared very soon after, when General Cromwell turned them out of doors, the whole fleet concurring in the approbation of that measure; which shews how dangerous a thing it is to sacrifice a man of known merit to secret distrusts. *

After this the admiral led a retired life, without concerning himself with public affairs. The grant he had of an estate in Ireland, induced him to go over thither in 1655, where he had frequent conferences with Henry Cromwell who then governed that kingdom; and who conceived from thence so great an esteem for him, that he wrote expressly to Secretary Thurloe, to take his advice about a certain matter of moment then in agitation, and in any thing else which required the opinion of a very knowing and experienced person. † Yet it doth not appear, that he was ever employed, or perhaps chose to be employed, in the protector's service; for I find him, in 1656, at his seat in Surrey, which is thus described by Whitlocke: "The house stands environed with ponds, moats, and water, like a ship at sea; a fancy the fitter for the master's humour, who was himself so great a seaman. There, he said, he had cast anchor, and intended to spend the rest of his life in private retirement." ‡ He changed his resolution, however, for which, if I mistake not, this visit laid a foundation; since Whitlocke went, in company with the Swedish ambassador, and Sir George was afterwards

* See the postscript to Lilly's Almanack for 1654.

† This letter is printed among Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 198.

‡ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 649, where there is a long account of a very curious conversation, on maritime affairs, between the ambassador and the admiral.

prevailed upon to quit his retreat, to go over to Sweden, where he was to be admiral. *

This scheme, of sending him into the north, was one of the last formed by the Protector Oliver. He had always kept a close correspondence with Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, from the time that prince mounted the throne, and drew many advantages from this conjunction. He saw, therefore, with great regret, the success of the Dutch in settling the affairs of the north, and their awing his ally, the king of Sweden, by keeping a strong fleet in the Baltic. He had his reasons for avoiding a second war with the Dutch; and yet he could not think of abandoning the Swedes. † At last, therefore, he took a resolution of sending a stout squadron, well manned, under the command of Vice-admiral Goodson, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George Ayscue, as we have shewn in another place; ‡ the latter having accepted of a commission in his Swedish Majesty's service; by which stroke of policy, the protector thought he should avoid all disputes with Holland, and yet do as much for the Swedes as they could desire. § But

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 260.

† Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 545, where there is a better account of Cromwell's designs than I have found in any of our own historians.

‡ See p. 294.

§ How much the news of this project alarmed the Danes, will appear from the following letter of their minister to Secretary Thurloe, dated September 27, 1658; when, in prosecution of Oliver's design, Richard had resolved to send Ayscue to Sweden.

“ May it please your lordship,

“ Talk has been this many months, that Sir George Ayscue, and
“ ten or twelve sea-captains, were to take service under the king of
“ Sweden, which I could not be induced to believe, thinking the
“ said Ayscue would not turn a mercenary soldier of another prince,
“ whilst the war in his own country lasted: if he could not be satisfied
“ with that wealth and honour he has gotten, and lived a retired and
“ quiet life. But I have been deceived in my opinion, and find, that
“ certainly he and the said captains are to depart in a few days; they
“ to command each a man-of-war, and Sir George the whole Swedish
“ fleet.” Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 412.

this squadron sailing too late in the year, the ice prevented its arrival at Copenhagen : however, Admiral Ayscue proceeded to Sweden by land, and was treated with great marks of esteem and favour by his Swedish majesty, with whom he continued to the time of that monarch's decease, which happened in the beginning of the year 1660 ; * so that Sir George Ayscue had no manner of concern in England.

He returned home soon after the Restoration, and was received with all the respect that was due to a man of his high rank and merit. He was, as we have already mentioned, appointed one of the commissioners for regulating the affairs of the navy, and in high esteem with the duke of York, who always consulted him in whatever regarded maritime concerns. When the Dutch war broke out, in 1664, he went to sea as rear-admiral of the blue squadron, and behaved with great honour in the battle of the 3d of June, 1665. † On the duke of York's return to court, and the earl of Sandwich's hoisting the royal flag, Sir Richard Ayscue served as vice-admiral of the red, and was very fortunate in making prizes. ‡

In 1666, when Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle commanded, Sir George Ayscue, in the Royal Prince, the largest and heaviest ship in the fleet, bore the white flag, as admiral of that squadron, having Sir William Berkeley for his vice, and Sir John Harman for his rear-admiral. In the famous battle on the 1st of June, he did remarkable service, not only against the enemy, but in the preservation of such of the English ships as were disabled by their superiour force. With the same successful diligence he acted the two next days ; but toward the evening of the

* *Histoire de Suede*, par Puffendorf, tom. iii. p. 30. Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 677, 698. Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 397.

† Echard, p. 820.

‡ *Life of the earl of Clarendon*, vol. iii. p. 571. *Annals of the Universe*, p. 119. Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 399.

third, when prince Rupert appeared with the frigates under his command, and a signal was made for the fleet to join; Sir George Ayscue's ship unfortunately ran upon the Galloper, and could not be gotten off. There, beaten by the waves, surrounded by his enemies, and unassisted by his friends, he was, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, compelled by his own seamen to strike; upon which, the Dutch took them on board, and finding it impossible to bring off the Royal Prince, set her on fire.*

This capture of Sir George Ayscue, gave the enemy great satisfaction. They carried him from place to place, by way of triumph; and at last shut him up in the castle of Louvestein, where he continued for some months.† After his return, which was in November, when he was graciously received by his majesty, he went no more to sea, but spent the remainder of his days in quiet.‡ But where, or when, this great and gallant seaman concluded his life, I have not hitherto been able, with certainty, to discover.

* Life of the Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 653. Heath's Chronicle, p. 551. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 430, 431. Skinner's Continuation of Bates, p. iii. p. 90.

† Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 776. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. iii. p. 141. La Vie de Ruyter, p. 145. See Sir George Ayscue's letter to the king, dated from the castle of Louvestein, June 20, 1666.

‡ Annals of the Universe, p. 161.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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